This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

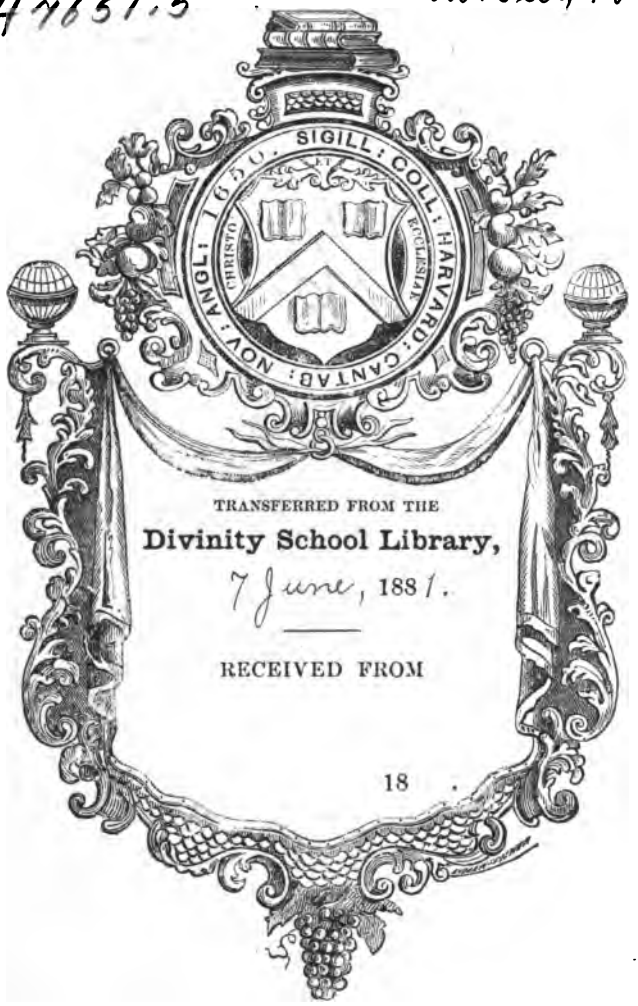
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

HW 27QC P

KE 775
AH 7651.5

Bd. Dec., 1888.



TRANSFERRED FROM THE
Divinity School Library,
7 June, 1887.

RECEIVED FROM

18 .

AN

ABRIDGMENT

OF

464-16-2

Mr. GIBBON's HISTORY

OF THE

Decline and Fall

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

BREVIS ESSE LABORO. HOR.

THE SECOND EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

© LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, STRAND.

1807.

DIVINITY SCHOOL
LIBRARY
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

KE775
~~I.1085~~
~~A11466L.5~~
1881, June 7.
Transferred from S.I.

Strahan and Preston,
Printers Street, London.

CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Page

ZENO and Anaſtatius, emperors of the eaſt—Birth, education, and firſt exploits of Theoderic the Oſtrogoth—His invaſion and conqueſt of Italy—The Gothic kingdom of Italy—State of the weſt—Military and civil government—The ſenator Boethius—Laſt acts and death of Theoderic, ... 1

CHAPTER XXVII.

Elevation of Juſtin the elder—Reign of Juſtinian—I. The empreſs Theodora—II. The factions of the circus, and ſedition of Conſtantinople—III. Trade and manufacture of ſilk—IV. Finances and Taxes—V. Edifices of Juſtinian—Church of St. Sophia—Fortifications and frontiers of the eaſtern empire—Abolition of the ſchools of Athens, and the conſulſhip of Rome, ... 18

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Conqueſts of Juſtinian in the weſt—Character and firſt campaigns of Beliſarius—He invades and ſubdues the Vandal kingdom of Africa—His triumph—The Gothic war—He recovers Sicily, Naples, and Rome—Siege of Rome by the Goths—Their retreat and loſſes—Surrender of Ravenna—Glory of Beliſarius—His domeſtic ſhame and misfortunes, 35

CHAPTER XXIX.

State of the barbaric world—Eſtabliſhment of the Lombards on the Danube—Tribes and inroads of the Sclavonians—

Page

Origin, empire, and embaſſies of the Turks—The flight of the Avars—Choſroes I. or Nuſhirvan, king of Perſia—His proſperous reign and war with the Romans—The Colchian, or Lazic war—The Æthiopians, . . 63

CHAPTER XXX.

Rebellions of Africa—Reſtoration of the Gothic kingdom by Totila—Loſs and recovery of Rome—Final conqueſt of Italy by Narſes—Extinction of the Oſtrogoths—Defeat of the Franks and Alemanni—laſt victory, diſgrace, and death of Beliſarius—Death and character of Juſtinian, . . 83

CHAPTER XXXI.

Idea of the Roman juriſprudence—The laws of the kings—The twelve tables of the Decemvirs—The laws of the people—The decrees of the ſenate—The edicts of the magiſtrates and emperors—Authority of the Civilians—Code, pandects, novels, and inſtitutes of Juſtinian—I. Rights of Perſons—II. Rights of things—III. Private injuries and actions—IV. Crimes and puniſhments, . . 100

CHAPTER XXXII.

Reign of the younger Juſtin—Embaſſy of the Avars—Their ſettlement on the Danube—Conqueſt of Italy by the Lombards—Adoption and reign of Tiberius—Of Maurice—State of Italy under the Lombards and the Exarchs—Of Ravenna—Diſtreſs of Rome—Character and pontificate of Gregory the Firſt, . . . 117

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Revolutions of Perſia after the death of Choſroes, or Nuſhirvan—His ſon Hormouz, a tyrant, is depoſed—Uſurpation of Baharam—Flight and reſtoration of Choſroes II.—His gratitude to the Romans—The chagan of the Avars—Revolt of the army againſt Maurice—His death—Tyranny of Phocas—Elevation of Heraclius—The Perſian war—Choſroes ſubdues Syria, Egypt, and Aſia Minor—Siege of

Page

of Conſtantinople by the Perſians and Avars—Perſian expeditions—Victories and triumph of Heraclius, . . 134

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Succeſſion and characters of the Greek emperors of Conſtantinople, from the time of Heraclius to the Latin conqueſt, . 160

CHAPTER XXXV.

Introduction, worſhip, and perſecution of images—Revolt of Italy and Rome—Temporal dominion of the Popes—Conqueſt of Italy by the Franks—Eſtabliſhment of images—Character and coronation of Charlemagne—Reſtoration and decay of the Roman Empire in the weſt—Independence of Italy—Conſtitution of the Germanic body, . . 191

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Deſcription of Arabia and its inhabitants—Birth, character, and doctrine of Mahomet—He preaches at Mecca—Flies to Medina—Propagates his religion by the ſword—Voluntary or reluctant ſubmiſſion of the Arabs—His death and ſucceſſors—The claims and fortunes of Ali and his deſcendants, ... 210

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The conqueſt of Perſia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, by the Arabs and Saracens—Empire of the caliphs, or ſucceſſors of Mahomet—State of the chriſtians, &c. under their government, ... 237

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The two ſieges of Conſtantinople by the Arabs—Their invaſion of France, and defeat of Charles Martel—Civil war of the Ommiades and Abbaſſides—Learning of the Arabs—Luxury of the caliphs—Naval enterpriſes on Crete, Sicily, and Rome—Decay and diviſion of the empire of the caliphs—Defeats and victories of the Greek emperors, . . 258

CHAP-

Page

CHAPTER XXXIX.

State of the eastern empire in the tenth century—The Greeks, the Arabs, and the Franks—Origin and doctrine of the Paulicians—The Bulgarians—The Hungarians—The Russians—Conversion of the barbarians 376

CHAPTER XL.

The Saracens, Franks, and Greeks in Italy—First adventures and settlement of the Normans—Character and conquests of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia—Deliverance of Sicily by his brother Roger—Victories of Robert over the emperors of the east and west—Roger, king of Sicily, invades Africa and Greece—The emperor Manuel Commenus—Wars of the Greeks and Normans—Extinction of the Normans, ... 294

CHAPTER XLI.

The Turks of the house of Seljuk—Their revolt against Mahmud, conqueror of Hindostan—Togrul subdues Persia, and protects the caliphs—Defeat and captivity of the emperor Romanus Diogenes by Alp Arslan—Power of Malek Shah—Conquest of Asia Minor—Conquest of Jerusalem, . 314

CHAPTER XLII.

Origin and numbers of the first crusade—Characters of the Latin princes—Their march to Constantinople—Policy of the Greek emperor—Conquest of Nice, Antioch and Jerusalem—Godfrey of Bouillon, first king of Jerusalem, . . 329

CHAPTER XLIII.

Preservation of the Greek empire—Second and third crusades—Reign of Saladin in Egypt and Syria—His conquest of Jerusalem—Richard the First of England—Fourth and fifth crusades—The emperor Frederic the Second—Louis the Ninth of France; and the two last crusades—Expulsion of the Latins or Franks, by the Mamalukes, . . 346

CHAP.

Page

CHAPTER XLIV.

Schiſm of the Greeks and Latins—State of Conſtantinople—Revolt of the Bulgarians—Iſaac Angelus dethroned by his brother Alexius—Origin of the fourth cruſade—Alliance of the French and Venetians with the ſon of Iſaac—The two ſieges and final conqueſt of Conſtantinople by the Latins, ... 363

CHAPTER XLV.

Partition of the empire by the French and Venetians—Five Latin emperors of the houſes of Flanders and Courtenay—Their wars againſt the Bulgarians and Greeks—Recovery of Conſtantinople by the Greeks—Elevation and reign of Michael Palæologus—Revolt of Sicily, ... 378

CHAPTER XLVI.

Reigns of Andronicus the elder and younger, and John Palæologus—Regency, revolt, reign, and abdication of John Cantacuzene—Eſtabliſhment of a Genoeſe colony at Pera—Their wars with the empire and city of Conſtantinople, . 395

CHAPTER XLVII.

Conqueſts of Zinghis Khan and the Moguls, from China to Poland—Origin of the Ottoman Turks in Bithynia—Reigns and victories of Othman, Orchan, Amurath the Firſt, and Bajazet the Firſt—Progreſs of the Turkiſh monarchy in Aſia and Europe—Danger of Conſtantinople and the Greek empire, ... 407

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Elevation of Timour, or Tamerlane, to the throne of Samarcand—His conqueſts in Perſia, Georgia, Tartary, Ruſſia, India, Syria, and Anatolia—His Turkiſh war—Defeat and captivity of Bajazet—Death of Timour—Civil war of the ſons of Bajazet—Reſtoration of the Turkiſh monarchy by Mahomet the Firſt—Siege of Conſtantinople by Amurath the Second, ... 424

Page

CHAPTER XLIX.

Applications of the Eaſtern Emperors to the Popes—Viſits to the Weſt, of John the Firſt, Manuel, and John the Second—Palæologus—Union of the Greek and Latin churches—Schiſm of the Greeks and Latins—Reign and character of Amurath the Second—Cruſade and defeat of Ladiſlaus, King of Hungary—John Huniades—Scanderbeg—Conſtantine Palæologus, laſt Emperor of the Eaſt, . . 438

CHAPTER L.

Reign and character of Mahomet the Second—Siege, aſſault, and final conqueſt of Conſtantinople by the Turks—Death of Conſtantine Palæologus—Concluſion . . . 456

THE

THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ZENO AND ANASTASIUS, EMPERORS OF THE EAST—BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND FIRST EXPLOITS OF THEODORIC, THE OSTROGOTH—HIS INVASION AND CONQUEST OF ITALY—THE GOTHIC KINGDOM OF ITALY—STATE OF THE WEST—MILITARY AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT—THE SENATOR BOETHIUS—LAST ACTS AND DEATH OF THEODORIC.

DURING the various viciſſitudes and fall of the Empire of the Weſt, the imperfect annals of the Eaſt preſent to us the names of Zeno, Anaſtaſius, and Juſtin, who ſucceſſively aſcended the throne of Conſtantinople. Italy, in that period, revived and flouriſhed under a Gothic king, whoſe fame and merit entitles him to rank among the beſt and braveſt of the Roman princes.

Theodoric, the Oſtrogoth, deſcended from the royal line of Amali, was born in the neighbourhood of Vienna,

enna, two years after the death of Attila. The Oſtrogoths, after their victory over the ſons of the Scythian monarch, by the counſels of the three brothers, Walamir, Theodemir, and Widimir, had pitched their habitations in the fertile province of Panonia. The Huns, who ſtill threatened their revolted ſubjects, were repelled by the ſingle forces of Walamir; [A. D. 455.] and the news of this victory reached the camp of Theodemir, on the auſpicious moment that his favourite concubine was delivered of Theodoric.

Theodemir reluctantly yielded his ſon, when only in the eighth year of his age, as the pledge of an alliance purchaſed by Leo, the Emperor of the Eaſt. The royal hoſtage was educated at Conſtantinople, with care and tenderneſs; his body was formed to all the exerciſes of war, and his mind was expanded by liberal converſation; but the Gothic youth diſdained the acquiſition of ſcience; and the illiterate king of Italy, to repreſent his ſignature, had the four firſt letters of his name inſcribed on a gold plate; and when it was fixed on the paper, he drew his pen through the intervals. At the age of eighteen, he was reſtored by Leo, to the wiſhes of the Oſtrogoths. Walamir, in this interval, had fallen in battle; Widimir had led into Italy and Gaul, an army of Barbarians; and the nation of the Oſtrogoths acknowledged Theodemir as their ſole monarch; the ferocious Barbarians admired the ſtrength and ſtature of their young Prince; and the fame of Theodoric was eſtabliſhed by his early and active valour; at the head of ſix thouſand followers, he deſcended the Danube as far as Belgrade, and re-

turned to the camp of his father with the ſpoils of a Sarmatian king, whom he had vanquiſhed and ſlain. But the martial exploits of Theodoric contributed not to relieve the diſtreſs of the Oſtrogoths, who were compelled by the wants of clothing and food to deſert their Pannonian encampment, and to advance into the neighbourhood of the Byzantine Court. After ſome acts of hoſtility, their alliance was purchaſed by a donative of lands and money; and they were entruſted with the defence of the lower Danube, under the command of Theodoric, who, on the death of his father, had ſucceeded to the throne.

On the death of Leo, who diſhonoured his reign by the ungrateful murder of Aſpar and his ſons, the inheritance of the Eaſt devolved on his grandſon, the offspring of his daughter Ariadne and her Iſaurian huſband, who changed the barbarous name of Traſcaliſſeus, for the Greek appellation of Zeno. The father was ſoon elevated to the ſecond rank of the empire; and the premature death of his infant ſon, [A. D. 474.] as it conduced to gratify his ambition, excited the public ſuſpicion. Verina, the widow of Leo, inflamed the paſſions of the populace againſt the unnatural parent. Zeno retired with precipitation into the mountains of Iſauria; and the ſucceſsful Verina beſtowed the purple on her brother Baſiliſcus, who had already rendered himſelf infamous by the African expedition. Baſiliſcus preſumed to aſſaſſinate the lover of his patroneſs, and to offend the paramour of his wife. Zeno was recalled from exile by the malecontents; the cauſe and perſon of Baſiliſcus were betrayed; and the un-

happy uſurper, with his whole family, was condemned by the conqueror to perish by cold and hunger. The haughty ſpirit of Verina was ſtill incapable of repoſe; ſhe provoked new rebellions in Syria and Egypt, and perſiſted to the laſt hour of her life in civil commotion; her turbulent diſpoſition was contraſted with the mild virtues of her daughter Ariadne; who followed Zeno into exile; [A. D. 491.] and after his reſtoration and death, beſtowed her hand and the imperial title on Anaſtaſius, an aged domeſtic of the palace, whoſe merit was atteſted by the acclamations of the people, "reign as you have lived."

Zeno had profuſely laviſhed on Theodoric every favour imperial power could beſtow; the rank of patrician and conſul, the command of the palatine troops, an immenſe treaſure, and the promiſe of a rich and honourable wife. The abilities of the ſon of Theodemir long ſupported the cauſe of his benefactor; the arms of the Walamirs, as they were called, had contributed to the reſtoration of the huſband of Ariadne; but the faithful ſervant was converted into a formidable enemy; and his own inclinations for peace were forced to give way to the clamours of a ferocious people; over whom he reigned, rather as a miniſter, than a king; and whoſe unbroken ſpirit was impatient of ſlavery or inſult.

Theodoric had been tempted by the fallacious promiſes of the Byzantine court to attack a confederate tribe of the Goths, who had been engaged in the party of Baſiliſcus: but the ſupport and ſupplies which had been promiſed him by the Imperial miniſters were with-

withheld; and the ſon of Theodemir was betrayed by the perfidy of his guides among the rocks and precipices of Mount Sondis, in Thrace. From a neighbouring height his rival, Theodoric, the ſon of Triarius, harangued the diſcontented camp of the Walamirs. "Are you ignorant," exclaimed he, "that it is the "conſtant policy of the Romans to deſtroy the Goths "by each others ſwords? Are you inſenſible that the "victor in this unnatural conteſt will be expoſed, and "juſtly expoſed, to their implacable revenge? Where "are thoſe warriors, my kinſmen and thy own, whoſe "widows now lament that their lives were ſacrificed to "thy raſh ambition? Where is the wealth which thy "ſoldiers poſſeſſed, when they were firſt allured from "their native homes, to enliſt under thy ſtandard? "Each of them was then maſter of three or four "horſes; they now follow thee on foot like ſlaves, "through the deſerts of Thrace; thoſe men who were "tempted by the hope of meaſuring gold with a buſhel: "thoſe brave men who are as free and as noble as thy-"ſelf." Such language was calculated to enflame the paſſions of the Goths; and the ſon of Theodemir, apprehenſive of being deſerted, was compelled to embrace his brethren, and eſpouſe their revolt.

The accidental death of the ſon of Triarius, who ſoon after, as he was riding in his own camp, was thrown from his horſe on the point of a ſpear, united the Gothic nation under the ſupremacy of the royal family of Amali; but the wealth of the Eaſt was unequal to the ſupport of their joint forces; the ſubjects of Theodoric expreſſed their murmurs that they were

expoſed in frozen huts to intolerable hardſhips, while their king was diſſolved in the luxury of Greece. The ſagacious ſon of Theodemir was ſenſible of their diſcontent; and to avert the alternative of becoming the champion, or enemy of his countrymen, embraced an enterpriſe worthy of his courage, and addreſſed the Emperor in the following words:—"Although your "ſervant is maintained in affluence by your liberality, "graciouſly liſten to the wiſhes of my heart! Italy, the "inheritance of your predeceſſors, and Rome itſelf, the "head and miſtreſs of the world, now fluctuate under "the violence and oppreſſion of Odoacer the mercenary. "Direct me, with my national troops, to march againſt "the tyrant. If I fall, you will be relieved from an "expenſive and troubleſome friend. If with the di-"vine permiſſion, I ſucceed, I ſhall govern, in your "name and to your glory, the Roman ſenate and the "Republic delivered from ſlavery by my victorious "arms." The propoſal of Theodoric was accepted; but his commiſſion was worded with ambiguity, that left it doubtful whether he ſhould reign as the lieutenant, the vaſſal, or the ally, of the Eaſt.

The fame of the leader, and the glory of the enterprize, ſoon collected the Gothic ſwarms, diffuſed throughout the empire; [A. D. 489.] Each bold Barbarian was impatient to ſhare the wealth and ſpoils of Italy; but during a march of ſeven hundred miles, the Goths were frequently expoſed to the attacks of famine; and the tribes of Bulgarians, Gepidæ, and Sarmatians, who had occupied the deſerted province of Dacia, were prompted by the ſolicitations of Odoacer to oppoſe the progreſs

progreſs of his enemy. It was not, till after a variety of obſtacles ſurmounted by the ſkill and courage of Theodoric, that he at length deſcended from the Julian Alps, and diſplayed his banners on the confines of Italy.

Odoacer, at the head of a powerful hoſt, whoſe independent leaders diſdained the duties of ſubordination, advanced to repel the bold invader; [A. D. 489. Auguſt 28.] but his defeat delivered the Venetian province, as far as the walls of Verona, to the poſſeſſion of the ſon of Theodemir. After a ſecond action fought on the banks of the Adige, [A. D. 489. September 27.] Odoacer fled to Ravenna, and Theodoric advanced to Milan; but the vanguard of the conqueror was ſoon after expoſed to deſtruction by the treachery of a deſerter, to whoſe command it had been entruſted; and Odoacer, for ſome time, appeared maſter of the field. Theodoric was reduced to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the kindred nations of the Viſigoths of Gaul; and the daring ſon of Edecon was compelled, after an obſtinate battle, once more to relinquiſh the field, and to ſecure himſelf within the fortifications of Ravenna. [A. D. 490. Auguſt.]

Theodoric reigned, by right of conqueſt, from the Alps to the extremity of Calabria. The ambaſſadors of the Vandals ſurrendered to his claims the iſland of Sicily; and he was accepted as the deliverer of Rome, by the ſenate and the people. Ravenna alone, protected by art and nature, defied his arms; and the daring ſallies of Odoacer for three years carried ſlaughter and diſmay through the camp of the beſiegers.—That unfortunate chief was at length compelled to ſub-

mit by the clamours of his ſoldiers; the hoſtile kings conſented to rule with equal authority; the Oſtrogoths were admitted into Ravenna; and the treaty of peace was ſcarce concluded, [A. D. 493. March 5.] before it was violated by the death of Odoacer, who was aſſaſſinated by his rival in the midſt of a ſolemn banquet; at the ſame moment, according to ſecret orders, his unſuſpecting mercenaries were univerſally maſſacred; and the royalty of Theodoric was proclaimed with the reluctant conſent of the Emperor of the Eaſt.

The ſole injuſtice attributed to the life of Theodoric, is, his aſſigning the third part of the land throughout Italy, to his victorious ſoldiers; but even this may be palliated by the example of Odoacer, and by the duty of ſubſiſting a people, who, on the faith of his promiſes, had tranſported themſelves into a diſtant country. The Goths, who under the reign of Theodoric multiplied to the enormous number of two hundred thouſand men, were irregularly diſperſed over the face of Italy, and ſoon aſſumed the elegant dreſs of the natives; but they ſtill perſiſted to uſe their mother tongue; and their contempt of the Latin ſchools was applauded by Theodoric himſelf, who declared, that the child who had trembled at a rod, would never dare to look on a ſword. The policy of the monarch perpetuated the ſeparation of the natives from the invaders; the former were conſigned to the gentle arts of peace, while the latter were aſſiduouſly trained to war and exerciſed in arms.

The victory of Theodoric had ſpread a general alarm among the Barbarians of the Weſt; but it ſoon appeared

peared that the victor was satisfied with conquest, and was desirous of peace. The different states readily submitted to his powerful mediation, and the ambassadors admired his wisdom, magnificence, and courtesy. His domestic alliances united his family with the kings of the Franks, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, the Vandals, and the Thuringians; even the savage monarch of the distant Heruli solicited the friendship of Theodoric, and, according to the rites of barbaric adoption, accepted the title of his son.

The life of Theodoric presents the rare example of a victorious Barbarian sheathing the sword in the pride of conquest and the vigour of his age; the thirty-three years of his reign were consecrated to civil duties; and the wars in which he was sometimes engaged were rather to defend than to extend his territories. He reduced, under a strong and regular government, the countries of Rhætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia, from the source of the Danube and the territory of the Bavarians, to the petty kingdom erected by the Gepidæ on the ruins of Sirmium; his success awakened the jealousy of the emperor Anastasius; and the protection granted by the Gothic king to one of the descendants of Attila, was the pretence for a war kindled on the Dacian frontier. Sabinian, already distinguished by his own and his father's merit, advanced at the head of ten thousand Romans; but these were defeated in the fields of Margus by an inferior body of Goths and Huns; and the discipline of the Barbarians restrained them, though victors, from plundering

dering the vanquiſhed, till they had received, by a ſignal, the permiſſion of their leader.

The Byzantine court, exaſperated by this diſgrace, diſpatched two hundred ſhips, and eight thouſand men, to ravage the ſea-coaſt of Calabria and Apulia. After aſſaulting the ancient city of Tarentum, they ſailed back to the Helleſpont, proud of their piratical victory; their retreat was poſſibly haſtened by a thouſand light veſſels, which Theodoric had fitted out with incredible diligence; and his efforts were productive of a ſolid and honourable peace during the reſt of his reign. He long maintained, with a powerful hand, the balance of the Weſt; checked the ambition of Clovis; and, after the defeat of Alaric, ſaved the remainder of the Viſigoths, with the family of that unfortunate Prince, from deſtruction; the Alemanni were protected, the Burgundians chaſtiſed; and the Viſigoths, to whom a free communication was opened by the conqueſts of Arles and Marſeilles, revered him as their protector, and the guardian of his infant grandſon, the offspring of their deceaſed monarch.

The union of the Goths and Romans might have fixed for ages the happineſs of Italy; but the abilities of Theodoric ſeem better calculated for a conqueror than a legiſlator; while he indulged the Goths in the enjoyment of rude liberty, he ſervilely copied the political ſyſtem framed by Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors; though he declined the diadem and purple, he aſſumed the ſubſtance of the imperial prerogative, under the hereditary title of king. His language towards the Byzantine

Byzantine court was reſpectful but ambiguous; he deſcribed his own power as ſole and undivided, and claimed the ſame pre-eminence over other kings, as he himſelf allowed to the rank of Anaſtaſius; but although the Italian candidate for the conſulſhip was named by Theodoric, yet he appears to have received the confirmation of the ſovereign of Conſtantinople. The palace of Ravenna imitated the appearance of the court of Theodoſius and Valentinian; the prætorian præfect, the quæſtor, the maſter of offices were ſtill preſerved, and continued to act as the miniſters of the ſtate. The ſubordinate care of juſtice and the revenue, was delegated to ſeven conſulars, three correctors, and five preſidents, who governed the fifteen *Regions* of Italy, according to the rules of Roman juriſprudence; and the policy of Theodoric was exerted to diſguiſe, by the ancient forms of the empire, the reign of a Barbarian. Though deſtitute of literature, he promoted as miniſters, Caſſiodorius and Boethius, whoſe genius and learning have reflected luſtre on his diſcernment; and the elevation of Liberius, to the prætorian præfecture, for his unſhaken fidelity to Odoacer, proclaims the magnanimity of the Gothic king.

The ſovereign of Italy condeſcended to flatter the nobles of Rome by ſonorous epithets, and reſpectful profeſſions; the inhabitants enjoyed, through his care, order, plenty, and a ſucceſſion of public amuſements. In the ſeventh year of his reign, Theodoric viſited the old capital of the world, and aſſured the ſenate and people, in a diſcourſe which he was not afraid to pronounce in public, and to inſcribe on a tablet of braſs,

of

of a juſt and legal government. During a reſidence of ſix months, his courteous demeanour excited the admiration of the Romans, and the ſon of Theodoric contemplated with curioſity and ſurpriſe the monuments that remained of their ancient greatneſs; and he created an officer to protect thoſe works of art, which he conſidered as the nobleſt ornaments of his kingdom.

Although Theodoric preferred the reſidence of Ravenna, yet as often as the peace of his kingdom was threatened by the Barbarians, he removed to Verona, on the northern frontier; theſe two capitals, as well as Pavia, Spoleto, Naples, and the reſt of the Italian cities, were decorated under his reign with churches, aqueducts, porticoes, and palaces; but the happineſs of the ſubject was more conſpicuous in the induſtry which he diffuſed, and the plenty he introduced; a gallon of wine was ſometimes ſold in Italy for leſs than three farthings, and a quarter of wheat at about five ſhillings and ſix-pence. The merchants from diſtant countries were encouraged and protected by the liberal ſpirit of Theodoric; the free intercourſe of the provinces was reſtored and extended; and the common ſaying, that a purſe of gold might be ſafely left in the fields, was expreſſive of the conſcious ſecurity of the inhabitants.

Theodoric had been educated in the profeſſion of Arianiſm, and Italy was devoutly attached to the Nicene creed; but the moderation of the monarch averted thoſe fatal effects which often ariſe from a difference of religion between the prince and the people; his long reign cannot afford the example of a Italian catholic,

who, either from choice or compulsion, had deviated into the religion of the conqueror; while his favourite Goths, and even his mother, were permitted to retain or embrace the Athanasian faith. But Theodoric, when he assumed the supremacy of the church, was not ignorant of the importance of the Roman pontiff, to whom the venerable name of Pope, was now appropriated; the peace or revolt of Italy might depend on a popular bishop who claimed dominion in earth and heaven; and when Symmachus and Laurence disputed the chair of St. Peter, they appeared before the tribunal of an Arian monarch, who confirmed the election of the most worthy, or the most obsequious candidate.

But though we may with pleasure describe the fortunate condition of Italy, during the reign of Theodoric, yet we must not imagine that the inhabitants were exempt from misery, or the monarch free from human frailty and passions; in the early hour of victory he deprived the whole party of Odoacer of the civil and even the natural rights of society; his declining age was sullied with popular hatred and patrician blood; and his ungrateful subjects never could be cordially reconciled to the origin, the religion, or even the virtues of the Gothic conqueror.

Two hundred thousand armed Barbarians, seated in the heart of Italy, indignantly supported the restraints of discipline, and frequently oppressed the provincials by the sallies of native fierceness. The religious toleration which Theodoric had introduced was offensive to the Orthodox zeal of the Italians; they dreaded the armed heresy of the Goths, and pointed their rage against

againſt the rich and defenceleſs Jews; their effects were pillaged, and their ſynagogues burnt, by the mad populace of Ravenna and Rome. A legal enquiry was directed in conſequence of theſe outrages; but as the authors of the tumult had eſcaped in the croud, the community was condemned to repair the damage; and the obſtinate bigots who refuſed their contributions, were whipped through the ſtreets. This ſimple act of juſtice exaſperated the Catholics; and the mind of the Gothic conqueror was ſoured by indignation and jealouſy, when he diſcovered that he had excited the hatred of a people, whoſe happineſs he had laboured aſſiduouſly to promote. He condeſcended to diſarm the unwarlike natives of Italy, and to interdict every inſtrument of offence, except a ſmall knife for domeſtic uſe.

On the death of Anaſtaſius, Juſtinian governed the empire of the Eaſt in the name of his uncle Juſtin; he already meditated the extirpation of hereſy, and the conqueſt of Italy and Africa; a rigorous law was publiſhed at Conſtantinople againſt the Arians; and Theodoric claimed for his brethren of the Eaſt, the ſame indulgence he had ſo long allowed to the Catholics of his dominions; the Roman pontiff, with four illuſtrious ſenators, embarked to mitigate, by their repreſentations, the ſeverity of Juſtin; and in caſe the Byzantine court proved obſtinate, a mandate was prepared to prohibit the exerciſe of the catholic worſhip in Italy. The fame of Theodoric tottered on the brink of perſecution, and his juſtice and humanity were already ſtained by the condemnation of Boethius and Symmachus.

The

The ſenator Boethius, as a wealthy orphan, had inherited the patrimony and honours of the Anician family. Eighteen years of his life were ſedulouſly employed in the ſchools of Athens; and after his marriage with the daughter of his friend, the patrician Symmachus, he continued to proſecute his ſtudies in his palace at Rome. His conſpicuous merit was rewarded by a diſcerning prince; his dignity was adorned with the titles of conſul and patrician; and his abilities were employed in the important ſtation of maſter of the offices. But the favour of Boethius declined with the encreaſing years of his maſter; the ſenator Albinus was accuſed and convicted on the preſumption of *hoping* the liberty of Rome. "If Albinus be criminal," exclaimed Boethius, "the ſenate and myſelf are all guilty "of the ſame crime." But the raſh declaration of the orator, that had he known of a conſpiracy, the tyrant never ſhould; proved fatal to his life; the advocate was ſoon involved in the guilt of his client. An addreſs was produced, with their ſignatures, inviting the emperor to deliver Italy from the Goths. The unhappy patrician was deprived by Theodoric of the means of juſtification, and rigorouſly confined in the tower of Pavia. The Roman ſenate, at the command of their Barbarian maſter, pronounced a ſentence of death againſt the moſt illuſtrious of its members; and the ſcience of the philoſopher was ſtigmatized with the names of ſacrilege and magic. The miniſters of death perhaps exceeded the inhuman mandate of Theodoric: a ſtrong cord was faſtened round the head of Boethius, and forcibly tightened till his eyes almoſt ſtarted from their

their ſockets; and he was releaſed from that torture to be beaten till he expired under the clubs of his executioners. [A. D. 524.] His venerable father-in-law Symmachus, had preſumed to lament the fate of his injured friend; he was dragged in chains from Rome to Ravenna, and the jealouſy of the tyrant could only be effaced by his blood. [A. D. 525.]

The early and mature years of Theodoric were irradiated by glory and virtue; his laſt hours were clouded with guilt and remorſe. His tortured fancy repreſented to his view the angry features of Symmachus, and he expreſſed his concern and repentance for the murder of that venerable ſenator, and his amiable ſon-in-law, Boethius. The agitation of his mind increaſed the diſorder of his body; and after a dyſentery, which continued three days, he expired in the palace of Ravenna, in the thirty-third year of his reign. Conſcious of his approaching end, he divided his treaſures and provinces between his two grandſons, and fixed the Rhone as their common boundary. To Amalaric he reſtored the throne of Spain; but Italy, with all the conqueſts of the Oſtrogoths, was bequeathed to Athalaric, then only ten years of age, and the laſt male offſpring of the line of Amali, by the marriage of his mother Amalaſuntha, with a royal fugitive of the ſame blood. The dying monarch, who had ſummoned the Gothic chiefs and Italian magiſtrates to engage their faith to the young prince and his guardian mother, delivered to them as his laſt advice, to maintain the laws, to love the ſenate and people of Rome, and to cultivate with decent reſpect the friendſhip of the emperor.

peror. His monument, a chapel of a circular form, crowned with a dome of granite, and containing, in a porphyry vaſe ſupported by four columns, the remains of the Gothic king, ſurrounded by the ſtatues of the twelve apoſtles, was erected by his daughter Amalaſuntha, in a conſpicuous ſituation, which commanded the city of Ravenna, the harbour, and the adjacent coaſt.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ELEVATION OF JUSTIN THE ELDER—REIGN OF JUSTINIAN—I. THE EMPRESS THEODORA—II. FACTIONS OF THE CIRCUS, AND SEDITION OF CONSTANTINOPLE—TRADE AND MANUFACTURE OF SILK—IV. FINANCES AND TAXES—V. EDIFICES OF JUSTINIAN—CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA—FORTIFICATIONS AND FRONTIERS OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE—ABOLITION OF THE SCHOOLS OF ATHENS AND THE CONSULSHIP OF ROME.

THE emperor Juſtinian was ſprung from an obſcure race of Barbarians, the inhabitants of a wild country, known by the various appellations of Dardania, of Dacia, and of Bulgaria; his elevation was facilitated by the enterpriſing ſpirit of his uncle Juſtin, who, with two other peaſants of the ſame village, deſerted the peaceable labours of the huſbandman, for the dangerous profeſſion of arms. Their ſtrength and ſtature introduced them among the guards of the emperor Leo; and the more fortunate Juſtin, by long ſervice in the Perſian and Iſaurian wars, in the courſe of fifty years, obtained the rank of tribune, of count, and of general, with the dignity of ſenator, and the command of the guards, at the important criſis when Anaſtaſius expired. The kinſmen of that prince were excluded from the throne by the arts of the eunuch Amantius, who reſolved to beſtow the purple on the moſt obſequious of his creatures; a liberal donative to conciliate the guards was entruſted in the hands of Juſtin, who treacherouſly employed

employed it in his own favour, and the Dacian peasant, as no competitor presumed to appear, ascended the throne with the unanimous consent of the soldiers, the clergy, and the people. [A. D. 518.]

Justin, to whom is added the epithet of Elder, to distinguish him from another emperor of the same name and family, was sixty-eight years of age when he attained the imperial diadem, and during the nine successive years of his life, he was preserved from exposing his incapacity by the abilities of his ministers. His ignorance equalled that of Theodoric, and the world beheld two contemporary monarchs destitute even of the knowledge of the alphabet; but the Dacian peasant possessed not the commanding genius of the Gothic soldier. Justin, though personally brave, was conscious of his own weakness, and distrustful of his political capacity; the official business of the empire was diligently transacted by his quæstor Proclus; and the talents of Justinian, his nephew, whom the aged emperor drew from the solitude of Dacia, and educated, as his heir, at Constantinople, soon supplied the deficiencies of the sovereign.

The eunuch Amantius had been defrauded of his money, but his resentment was prevented by the policy of the emperor. His life became the forfeit of a real or pretended conspiracy; three of his companions, the first domestics of the palace, were punished either with death or exile; and their unfortunate candidate for the purple was overwhelmed with stones, and ignominiously cast into the sea. The ruin of Vitalian was a work of more difficulty. In the defence of the ortho-

dox faith, he had waged a popular war againſt Anaſtaſius, and remained at the head of a formidable army, after concluding an advantageous treaty, in the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople. On the ſecurity of oaths, he was perſuaded to truſt himſelf in a city, to the inhabitants of which his late hoſtilities had rendered him obnoxious. The emperor and his nephew embraced him with affected regard, but in the ſeventh month of his conſulſhip, he was aſſaſſinated at a royal banquet, with ſeventeen wounds; and Juſtinian, as the price of his perfidy, was promoted to the ſituation of his rival, and aſſumed the rank of maſter-general of the Eaſtern armies, without the claim of any military ſervice. Inſtead of endeavouring to acquire an honourable fame by Scythian or Perſian trophies, he preferred the more prudent meaſure of cultivating the favour of his countrymen in the churches, the circus, and the ſenate of Conſtantinople; and while he maintained his aſcendant over the mind of his uncle, committed to hardier warriors the glory and defence of the Eaſtern empire.

After a ſchiſm of thirty-four years, the counſels of Juſtinian reconciled the angry ſpirit of the Roman pontiff; the thrones of the Eaſt were filled with catholic biſhops devoted to his intereſt; and the clergy and monks were gained by his liberality; the people of Conſtantinople were gratified by the ſuperior magnificence of his public ſpectacles; and the members of the ſenate were flattered by the aſſiduity with which he courted their friendſhip. That aſſembly expreſſed their unanimous wiſh to the emperor, that he would be pleaſed to adopt Juſtinian as his colleague; and though the

the jealouſy of Juſtin at firſt induced him to reſiſt their importunities, yet the languor of his mind and body, the effect of an incurable wound in his thigh, compelled him to accept the aid of a guardian, and his nephew was ſolemnly inveſted with the purple in the preſence of the patriarch and the ſenators. [A. D. 527.]

Though Juſtin ſurvived this ceremony about four months, yet the imperial power was entirely veſted in the hands of Juſtinian, who, from his elevation to his death, governed the Roman empire thirty-eight years, ſeven months, and thirteen days; and the various events of his reign are diligently related by Procopius, the ſecretary of Beliſarius, whoſe eloquence promoted him to the rank of ſenator, and præfect of Conſtantinople. From the various materials of this hiſtorian, we ſhall begin with the character and elevation of Theodora, the factions of the circus, and the peaceful adminiſtration of the emperor of the Eaſt. To theſe will be added the victories of Beliſarius and Narſes; and the reign of Juſtinian will be cloſed with a review of his theology and juriſprudence, the controverſies which divided the Oriental church, and the reformation of the Roman law.

I. The firſt act of Juſtinian was to divide the power he had attained with the woman whom he loved. Comito, THEODORA, and Anaſtaſia, were the daughters of Acacius, a native of Cyprus, and the maſter of the bears belonging to the green faction. After the death of the father, on a ſolemn feſtival, theſe helpleſs orphans, the eldeſt of whom did not exceed the age of ſeven years, were introduced by the mother into the theatre; the

green faction received them with contempt; the blues with compaſſion; and this difference, which ſunk deep in the mind of Theodora, was felt long afterwards in the adminiſtration of the emperor. The three ſiſters were ſucceſſively devoted to the public and private pleaſures of the Byzantine people; and the applauſe beſtowed on Theodora, as a pantomime, was conſtant and unbounded; but her beauty was the ſource of more exquiſite delight; her features were delicate and regular; her eyes expreſſed the ſenſations of her mind and body; and her eaſy motions diſplayed the graces of a ſmall, but elegant figure; but this form was degraded by the facility with which it was expoſed to the public eye; and her venal charms were abandoned to a promiſcuous crowd of citizens and ſtrangers. The vague commerce of Theodora, and her deteſtable precautions, preſerved her from the danger ſhe dreaded; and during that period ſhe once, and once only, became a mother. The youth was educated in Arabia, and, by his father, on his death bed, informed that he was the ſon of an empreſs. He haſtened to Conſtantinople, was admitted to the preſence of his mother, and as he never more was beheld, has ſubjected Theodora to a ſuſpicion that ſhe extinguiſhed, with his life, a ſecret offenſive to imperial pride.

The beauty of Theodora, who for ſome time had affected a life of ſolitude, attracted and captivated the patrician Juſtinian, who already reigned in the name of his uncle; her temper and underſtanding maintained a conſtant aſcendant over his mind; an ancient law, which prohibited the marriage of any ſenator with a female

female who had been dishonoured by a servile origin, or theatrical profession, was abolished in the name of Justin; the nuptials of Justinian and Theodora were speedily solemnized; and Justinian, when he ascended the throne, placed by his side his consort, as an equal and independent sovereign. The most illustrious persons of the state were doomed, as her humour might suggest, to experience the levity of a comedian; or the arrogance of an empress; her rapacity was unbounded, and her cruelty was exercised by her numerous spies, who carefully reported every action or look injurious to their royal mistress.

Yet it must be acknowledged that the daughter of Acacius was not destitute of virtues. Her influence often assuaged the intolerant zeal of the emperor; her prudence is celebrated by Justinian himself; her courage was displayed amidst the tumult of the people and the terrors of the court; and her chastity, from the moment of her union with Justinian, is allowed to have been inviolable. An infant, whom she buried, was the sole offspring of her marriage; [A. D. 548.] and the empress herself, in the twenty-second year of her reign, was consumed by the destructive rage of a cancer.

II. The games of the Roman circus differed materially from those celebrated by the ancient Greeks; the charioteers were servile characters, and their profession was considered as disgraceful. The liveries worn by the different competitors, or *factions*, were *white*, *red*, *green*, and *blue*; and the blind ardour of the Roman people devoted their lives and fortunes to the colours they espoused. The follies of Rome were

adopted by Conſtantinople; the ſupport of a *faction* became neceſſary to every candidate for civil or eccleſiaſtical honours. The green were attached to the family or ſect, of Anaſtaſius; the blues were devoted to orthodoxy and Juſtinian; and their grateful patron protected, above five years, a party whoſe tumults overawed the palace, the ſenate, and the capital of the Eaſt; and Theodora, who never forgave the injuries offered to her as a comedian, countenanced the *blues* in their perſecution of the *greens*.

A dangerous ſedition, which almoſt laid Conſtantinople in aſhes, was excited by the momentary reconciliation of the two factions. [A. D. 532.] Two criminals had eſcaped from impending puniſhment to the ſanctuary of a neighbouring church. As one of theſe was of the blue, and the other of the green livery, both parties were equally provoked by the cruelty of their oppreſſor. A ſeditious torrent overwhelmed the palace of the præfect, his officers, and his guards; the fury of an armed multitude was encreaſed by the Barbarians in the ſervice of the empire; firebrands were darted againſt the houſes, and the flames ſpread, without control, over the face of the city. For five days Conſtantinople was abandoned to the factions, whoſe watch-word NIKA, *vanquiſh*, has given a name to this memorable ſedition.

A ſuſpicion was entertained, that the rage of the inſurgents was ſupplied with arms by the patricians Hypatius and Pompey, two nephews of the deceaſed emperor Anaſtaſius; they were commanded by Juſtinian, who regarded them as ſpies, to depart the palace; and

and Hypatius, ſurrounded by the populace, was reluctantly tranſported to the forum of Conſtantine, and a rich collar was placed on his head. Had the uſurper inſtantly urged the fury of the multitude, he might have expelled his trembling competitor; a ſecret reſolution was already taken to convey the emperor, with his family, to a ſafe retreat; but this diſgraceful meaſure was averted by the magnanimity and manly language of the proſtitute, whom Juſtinian had raiſed from the theatre to the throne. "If flight," ſaid Theodora, "were the only means of ſafety, yet I ſhould diſdain to "fly. Death is the condition of our birth; but they who "have reigned, ſhould never ſurvive the loſs of dignity "and dominion. I implore heaven, that I may never "be ſeen, not a day, without my diadem and purple; "that I may no longer behold the light, when I ceaſe "to be ſaluted with the name of queen. If you reſolve, "O Cæſar, to fly, you have treaſures; behold the ſea, "you have ſhips; but tremble, leſt the deſire of life "ſhould expoſe you to wretched exile and ignominious "death. For my own part, I adhere to the maxim of "antiquity, that the throne is a glorious ſepulchre." The firmneſs of a woman reſtored courage to deliberate and act; the animoſity of the factions was revived; the blues again proclaimed the majeſty of Juſtinian; the greens, with their upſtart emperor, were attacked in the Hippodrome, by Beliſarius and Mundus, at the head of three thouſand veterans; and it is computed that above thirty thouſand perſons periſhed in the promiſcuous carnage. Hypatius and Pompey were dragged to the feet of the emperor, and in vain implored

plored his clemency; and the games were, during several years, interdicted; but with the restoration of them, the blue and green factions revived, and continued to disturb the tranquillity of Justinian, and of the empire.

III. The silk worms, who feed on the leaves of the white mulberry trees, till the reign of Justinian, were confined to China; and as silk became of general use, that emperor beheld with concern that the Persians had occupied, by land and sea, the monopoly of this important supply. The gospel had been preached to the Indians, and the missionaries pursued the footsteps of commerce to the extremities of Asia. Two Persian monks had long resided in China; and they viewed, with curious eye, the manufactures of silk, and the myriads of silk-worms which were carefully propagated. They soon discovered that in the eggs of the insect a numerous progeny might be preserved and multiplied. Religion, or interest, induced them to undertake a journey to Constantinople; they imparted their project to the emperor, and were liberally encouraged by gifts and promises. The labours of these missionaries, who again entered China, deceived a jealous people by concealing the eggs in a hollow cane; and they returned in triumph with the spoils of the East. Under their direction, the eggs were hatched by the artificial heat of dung; the worms were fed with mulberry leaves; and the Sogdnite ambassadors acknowledged, in the succeeding reign, that the Romans were not inferior to the natives of China in the education of the insects and the manufactures of silk.

IV. The

IV. The œconomy of Anaſtaſius had alleviated the public diſtreſs; but the revenues of Juſtinian were exhauſted by alms, by buildings, by wars, and by treaties. The ſalaries of his civil and military officers were reduced; the municipal revenues were uſurped; his veterans were ſuffered to beg their bread; and unpaid armies melted away in the wars of Italy and Perſia. The arrears of the public tributes were ſeverely extorted; and the *annona*, or ſupply of corn for the army and capital, oppreſſed the farmers throughout the provinces; even Conſtantinople was not exempt from the impartial rapaciouſneſs of Juſtinian; at every gate of the city a prætor was ſtationed, and heavy cuſtoms were impoſed on the veſſels and their merchandize. To theſe may be added the *aerial* tribute, which was an annual gift to the emperor from the prætorian prefect; and the means of compenſation were left to the diſcretion of that powerful officer. The privilege of monopolies was ſtill more intolerable than the weight of taxes; and the open ſale of honours and offices expoſed the people to the oppreſſion of every bold adventurer.

In this review of public extortion, much guilt is undoubtedly to be imputed to Juſtinian; but more to his miniſters. Of theſe, John of Cappadocia was the principal; a man capable of ſuggeſting the wiſeſt counſels, and of finding expedients in the moſt deſperate ſituations. Yet the corruption of his heart was equal to the vigour of his mind; inſenſible to the fear of God and man, his fortune was raiſed on the death of thouſands, the poverty of millions, the ruin of cities,

and

and the desolation of provinces. His abilities recommended him to the lasting friendship of Justinian; but in the insolence of his power he imprudently provoked the resentment of Theodora; even the empress was forced to wait a favourable moment, and to render John of Cappadocia the accomplice of his own destruction. The præfect was invited to a feigned conspiracy by Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, who enjoyed the secret confidence of the empress. Their conference was interrupted by an ambuscade of guards posted by the command of Theodora. The minister escaped to the sanctuary of a church; and to save his life was obliged to renounce his situation of præfect, for the humble character of a priest. The friendship of the emperor allowed him to retain an ample portion of his wealth: but the hatred of Theodora was not yet satisfied. John of Cappadocia, though innocent, was condemned for the murder of the Bishop of Cyzicus, to be ignominiously scourged; a tattered cloak was alone left him of his former fortunes; and the præfect of the East, for seven years, begged his bread through cities which had trembled at his name. On the death of the empress, Justinian recalled a servant whom he had abandoned with regret: and the ambition of the minister was confined to the humble duties of the sacerdotal profession.

V. The *edifices* of Justinian, though cemented with the blood of his people, proclaim the skill of his architects. The church of St. Sophia had been destroyed by fire during the sedition of the blue and green factions; and the glory of erecting a new temple was strenuously

undertaken by Juſtinian. Anthemius, the ſon of a citizen of Tralles, whoſe merit is loudly praiſed by Procopius, formed the deſign; and his genius directed the conſtant efforts of ten thouſand workmen. The emperor each day ſurveyed their progreſs, and encouraged their diligence by rewards. The new cathedral of St. Sophia was conſecrated by the patriarch, five years eleven months and ten days from the firſt foundation; but before twenty years had elapſed, the eaſtern part of the dome was overthrown by an earthquake. Its ſplendour was reſtored by the ſame prince; and St. Sophia, converted into a Turkiſh moſch, ſtill remains to excite the admiration of the Greeks, and the curioſity of European travellers.

The fortifications of Europe and Aſia were reſtored and multiplied by the care of Juſtinian. From Belgrade to the Euxine; from the conflux of the Save to the mouth of the Danube, a chain of above fourſcore fortified places was extended along the banks of the great river. A ſtrong fortreſs defended the ruins of Trajan's Bridge, and ſeveral military ſtations affected to ſpread beyond the Danube the pride of the Roman name: but the Barbarians contemptuouſly paſſed before theſe bulwarks; and the military works, which exhauſted the public treaſure, could not remove the juſt apprehenſions of Juſtinian and his ſubjects. By the ſubmiſſion of the Iſaurians, the empire was indeed delivered from an internal enemy, who, for two hundred and thirty years, had deeply wounded its dignity and peace; but the moſt elaborate works were required to fortify the eaſtern frontier againſt the arms and ambition

bition of the Perſian monarch; who ſhook the ſtrongeſt battlements with his military engines, and advanced to the aſſault with a line of moveable turrets on the backs of elephants. The towns of Armenia and Meſopotamia were diligently ſtrengthened; and the eye of Juſtinian inveſtigated every ſpot which poſſeſſed an advantageous command of ground or water.

Perozes, the king of Perſia, had undertaken an expedition againſt the White Huns, whoſe conqueſts had been ſtretched from the Caſpian to the heart of India. [A. D. 488.] The Perſians were twice defeated by the military ſtratagems of the Huns; and Perozes, who had been captured, was not diſmiſſed till he had ſubmitted to adore the majeſty of a Barbarian. The Perſian king, forgetful of his danger and his gratitude, renewed the attack with headſtrong fury; and loſt both his army and his life. Twelve years of confuſion elapſed before his ſon, Cabades, could embrace any deſigns of ambition or revenge. [A. D. 502.] He then, ſupported by the Huns and Arabs, invaded the provinces of the empire. Martyropolis ſubmitted; Theodoſiopolis was deſtroyed; and Amida, after ſuſtaining a ſiege of three months, was ſurpriſed when the garriſon, after the duties of a feſtival, were oppreſſed by ſleep and wine; fourſcore thouſand of the inhabitants were maſſacred, before the ſword was ſheathed by the ſanguinary victors. During the three years war, the unhappy frontier was expoſed to inceſſant calamities; and when the mind of Cabades inclined to peace, he ſold his conqueſts at an immenſe price.

To reſiſt the future progreſs of the Perſian arms,

and

and to avert a repetition of the ſame evils, Anaſtaſius peopled and adorned the town of Dara, about fourteen miles from Niſibis. His haſty works were improved by the perſeverance of Juſtinian; and the fortifications of Dara, erected on a hard rocky ſoil which reſiſted the tools of the miners, for more than ſixty years continued to fulfil the wiſhes of the Romans, and to provoke the jealouſy of the Perſians.

The countries of Colchos, Iberia, and Albania, are interſected by the branches of Mount Caucaſus; and the two principal gates, or paſſes, have been frequently confounded in the geography both of the ancients and moderns. The name of *Caſpian* gates, is properly applied to Derbend, which occupies a ſhort declivity between the mountains and the ſea; the *Iberian* gates are formed by a narrow paſſage of Mount Caucaſus, which opens from the northern ſide of Iberia into the plain that reaches to the Tanais and Volga. This important paſs was forcibly occupied by Cabades, while a fortreſs that commanded it was treated for, with a prince of the Huns, by the irreſolute Anaſtaſius. The Caſpian and Iberian gates exclude the horſemen of Scythia from the ſhorteſt and moſt practicable roads; the whole front of the mountains is covered with a long wall, which had been called the rampart of Gog and Magog; and the Perſian monarch ſtipulated, in every treaty, that Juſtinian ſhould contribute to the expence of a barrier, which equally protected the two empires from the inroads of the Scythians.

The avarice and jealouſy of Juſtinian have both been accuſed in the ſuppreſſion of the ſchools of Athens,

and

and the conſulſhip of Rome. The advantages of education, which had been early poſſeſſed by the youth of Attica, were communicated without envy to the rival cities of Greece. The Latin conquerors reſpectfully liſtened to the inſtructions of their ſubjects and captives; the names of Cicero and Horace were enrolled in the ſchools of Athens; and after the perfect ſettlement of the Roman empire, the natives of Italy, of Africa, and of Britain, converſed in the groves of the academy with their fellow-ſtudents of the Eaſt. The ſtudies of eloquence and philoſophy are congenial to a popular ſtate; and even when the liberty of public debate was ſuppreſſed, the orator, in the honourable profeſſion of an advocate, might plead the cauſe of innocence and juſtice. The ſyſtems which profeſſed to unfold the nature of God, of man, and of the univerſe, entertained the curioſity of the philoſophic ſtudent; and, according to the temper of his mind, he might doubt with the Sceptics, or decide with the Stoics; ſublimely ſpeculate with Plato, or ſeverely argue with Ariſtotle. The Athenian profeſſors were paid by their diſciples, according to their mutual wants and abilities; but ſome property of houſes and lands was ſettled by the permiſſion of the laws, and the legacies of deceaſed friends, on the philoſophic chairs of Athens. The generous ſpirit of the Antonines firſt aſſigned public ſalaries; and each profeſſor of politics, of rhetoric, of the Platonic, the Peripatetic, the Stoic, and the Epicurean philoſophy, received an annual ſtipend of more than three hundred pounds ſterling. Theſe liberal donations, after the death of Marcus, were frequently aboliſhed and revived; and

even

even ſome veſtige of royal bounty may be diſcovered under the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine.

But the eſtabliſhment of a new religion was more fatal to the ſchools of Athens, than the arms of the Goths. The degenerate ſect of the Platoniſts mingled with a ſublime theory the practice of ſuperſtition and magic; and the edict of Juſtinian impoſed a perpetual ſilence on the few remaining votaries of Grecian ſcience and religion. Seven of theſe embraced a reſolution of ſeeking, in a foreign land, the freedom which was denied in their native country; but when they reſorted to the court of Choſroes, they were aſtoniſhed to find that the monarch, who affected the name of a philoſopher, was vain, cruel, and ambitious; that bigotry, and a ſpirit of intolerance, prevailed among the magi; that the nobles were haughty, the courtiers ſervile, and the magiſtrates unjuſt. They returned with precipitation; and declared that they had rather die on the borders of the empire, than enjoy the wealth and favour of the Barbarians: but from this journey they derived a benefit which reflects the pureſt luſtre on the character of Choſroes. He ſtipulated, in a treaty, that the ſeven ſages who had viſited the court of Perſia, ſhould be exempted from the penal laws which Juſtinian had enacted againſt his pagan ſubjects.

The revolutions of the conſular office have been already occaſionally mentioned in the preſent hiſtory; and long after the power was transferred to the emperors, the dignity of the conſulſhip was revered by the Romans and Barbarians: but the wiſeſt ſenators declined, at length, an uſeleſs honour, the expence of

which insensibly had arisen to fourscore thousand pounds, and which involved their families in certain ruin. The predecessors of Justinian had assisted from the public treasures the less opulent candidates; the avarice of that prince preferred the convenient method of regulation. He limited the races, the sports, and the hunting of wild beasts; in the thirteenth year of his reign the succession of consuls finally ceased; and that celebrated title served only to remind the Romans of their ancient freedom; yet the people fondly expected its speedy restoration; three centuries elapsed, before it could be abolished by law; the imperfect mode of distinguishing each year by the name of a magistrate, was supplied by the date of a permanent æra. The Greeks compute, according to the septuagint version, from the date of the world; and the Latins, since the age of Charlemagne, from the birth of Christ.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONQUESTS OF JUSTINIAN IN THE WEST—CHARACTER AND FIRST CAMPAIGNS OF BELISARIUS—HE INVADES AND SUBDUES THE VANDAL KINGDOM OF AFRICA—HIS TRIUMPH—THE GOTHIC WAR—HE RECOVERS SICILY, NAPLES, AND ROME—SIEGE OF ROME BY THE GOTHS—THEIR RETREAT AND LOSSES—SURRENDER OF RAVENNA—GLORY OF BELISARIUS—HIS DOMESTIC SHAME AND MISFORTUNES.

WHEN Juſtinian aſcended the throne, the kingdoms of the Goths and Vandals had obtained a peaceable eſtabliſhment in Europe and Africa; but the Roman lawyers and ſtateſmen ſtill aſſerted the indefeaſible dominion of the emperor. After the imperial purple was reſigned by the Weſt, the princes of Conſtantinople aſſumed the ſole and ſacred ſceptre of the monarchy; and aſpired to deliver their ſubjects from the uſurpation of Barbarians and Heretics. The internal ſtate of Africa afforded an honourable motive, and promiſed a powerful ſupport to the Roman arms.

According to the teſtament of Genſeric, the African kingdoms had lineally deſcended to Hilderic, the eldeſt of the Vandal princes. His acceſſion was marked by an edict, which allowed the free profeſſion of the Athanaſian creed; but this indulgence, without ſatisfying the catholic, diſguſted the Arian clergy; who inſinuated that he had renounced the faith, while his ſoldiers exclaimed that he had degenerated from the

courage of his anceſtors. His ambaſſadors were ſuſpected of a diſgraceful negociation with the Byzantine court; and his troops had been vanquiſhed by the naked and diſorderly Moors. The public diſcontent was inflamed by Gelimir, who aſſumed the reins of government; and his unfortunate ſovereign ſunk, without a ſtruggle, from the throne to a dungeon; but the conduct of Hilderic had ſtrongly recommended him to Juſtinian, who, in two ſucceſſive embaſſies, admoniſhed the uſurper to reverence the laws of kindred and ſucceſſion, and to ſuffer an infirm old man to end his days, either on the throne of Carthage, or in the palace of Conſtantinople. The prudence of Gelimir compelled him to reject theſe requeſts; his paſſions urged him to deprive the captive monarch of his eyes; and the cruel Vandal, confident in his ſtrength, derided the preparations of Juſtinian; who, amidſt his proteſtations of peace, was determined to avenge the injuries of Hilderic, by war.

But the ardour of the monarch was encountered by the dictates of prudence and the arguments of his miniſters. John of Cappadocia ventured in full council to oppoſe the inclinations of his maſter. "You undertake," ſaid the præfect, "to beſiege Carthage; by "land, the diſtance is not leſs than one hundred and "forty days journey; on the ſea, a whole year muſt "elapſe before you can receive any intelligence from "your fleet. If Africa can be reduced, it cannot be "preſerved without the additional conqueſt of Sicily "and Italy. Succeſs will impoſe the obligation of "new labours; a ſingle misfortune will attract the

"Bar-

"Barbarians into the heart of your exhausted empire." Justinian felt the salutary advice; and the design of the war would probably have been relinquished, if a fanatic bishop had not declared, that God in a vision had commanded the deliverance of the African church. This seasonable revelation was strengthened by the more reasonable hopes of a revolt, from the inclination of the catholics, and from the adherents of Hilderic. Pudentius, an African subject, had already signified his loyal intentions, and a small aid secured the obedience of Tripoli. Godas, a valiant Barbarian, entrusted with the government of Sardinia, had disclaimed the authority of the Vandal monarch, and assumed the sovereignty of that fruitful island; discord and desertion threatened on every side the throne of Gelimir; while the hopes of the Romans were excited by the appointment of Belisarius to the command of their armies.

This hero, who revived the fainting glory of Rome, was born among the Thracian peasants, and served among the private guards of Justinian. When his patron became emperor, the domestic was promoted to military command; and after a bold inroad into Persarmenia, was entrusted with the important station of Dara. The Mirranes of Persia had advanced with forty thousand of his best troops to raze the fortifications of that bulwark. In the level plain of Dara, he was encountered by Belisarius, at the head of twenty five thousand Romans. The skill of the imperial general decided the fate of the day, and eight thousand

of the vanquished Persians were left on the field of battle.

In the next campaign, Syria was invaded from the Desert, and Belisarius, with twenty thousand men, hastened to the protection of the province; his skilful dispositions baffled the designs of the enemy, and would have procured him a bloodless victory, could he have resisted the impatience of his own troops; the promises of these were faintly supported in the hour of danger, and they hastily abandoned a conflict which they had loudly demanded. But the fame of Belisarius rose superior to his defeat, and his abilities preserved his troops from the consequences of their own rashness. The approach of peace relieved him from the defence of the Eastern frontier; his conduct in the sedition of Constantinople deserved the esteem of the emperor; but his appointment to the command of the African expedition, was possibly promoted by the intrigues of his wife Antonina, who alternately enjoyed the confidence and incurred the hatred, of the empress Theodora. Antonina was descended from a race of charioteers, and her chastity has been stained with the foulest reproach. But she long reigned over the mind of her husband, whom she accompanied with manly resolution in all the hardships and dangers of a military life.

The forces for the African expedition consisted of the guards of Belisarius; four hundred of the bravest Heruli, commanded by Pharas; six hundred Massagetæ, or Huns, that were allured by deceit to engage in a naval enter-

enterprize; five thousand horse, and ten thousand foot: but the infantry yielded to the reputation of the cavalry; and the Scythian bow was the weapon on which the armies of Rome were reduced to place their principal dependance. Five hundred transports, navigated by twenty thousand mariners of Egypt, Cilicia, and Ionia, were escorted by ninety-two light brigantines, rowed by two thousand of the brave and robust youth of Constantinople: twenty-two generals were named; but the chief command, both by sea and land, was delegated to Belisarius alone.

A. D. 533. The fleet as they struggled to pass the straights of the Hellespont, were detained, by an unfavourable wind, four days at Abydus, where the general exhibited a memorable lesson of firmness and severity. Two of the Huns, who in a drunken quarrel had slain one of their fellow soldiers, were instantly shewn to the army suspended from a gibbet. Their countrymen resented the punishment of a crime which by the laws of Scythia would only have been attended by a small fine; the contagion of disorder was caught by the Romans; but the rising sedition was appeased by the authority and eloquence of Belisarius, who represented the guilt of murder, and the importance of discipline. After a successful navigation, the troops were disembarked at Methone, on the Messenian coast, to refresh themselves from the fatigues of the sea; but the avarice of the præfect, John of Cappadocia, had slightly baked the bread intended for the support of the army; the unwholesome food produced an epidemical disease, which swept away five hundred soldiers;

their health was restored by the care of Belisarius; from the port of Methone, after a tedious navigation, they reached the harbour of Caucana, on the southern side of Sicily; that island was governed by Gothic officers, in the name of the daughter and grandson of Theodoric, and according to the mandate of the court of Ravenna, the troops of Justinian were received like friends and allies. The information gained by Belisarius, of the state and designs of the Vandals, determined him to hasten his operations; his impatience was seconded by the winds; and the fleet finally cast anchor at Gaput Vada, about five days journey to the south of Carthage.

Gelimer, ignorant of the approach of the enemy, had detached five thousand of his soldiers, and one hundred and twenty gallies, to the conquest of Sardinia. These might have enabled him to have attacked and oppressed a fleet of deep-laden transports, escorted only by ninety-two light brigantines; and Belisarius, conscious of the danger, and the apprehensions of his troops, seized the first opportunity of landing them on the coast of Africa. Five soldiers were left as a guard on board each of the ships; and the remainder occupied a camp fortified, according to ancient custom, with a ditch and rampart. Rigid discipline was enforced by the exhortations of the commander; and the inhabitants were induced, by the liberality of the Romans, to supply them with a regular market. Sullecte first opened her gates; the larger cities of Leptis and Adrumetum followed her example; and Belisarius advanced without opposition as far as Grasse, a palace

of the Vandal kings, at the distance of fifty miles from Carthage.

The near approach of the Romans to Carthage, filled the mind of Gelimer with anxiety and terror. He wished to protract the war till the return of his brother Zano from Africa, and lamented the rash policy of his predecessors, who had destroyed the fortifications of Africa. He collected, however, a considerable army; and his brother Ammatas was directed with the troops of Carthage, to encounter the Roman vanguard about ten miles from the city, while his nephew Gibamund attacked the left, and Gelimer himself charged the rear. This plan was disconcerted by the rashness of Ammatas, who, anticipating the hour of attack, was slain, and his followers pursued to Carthage; Gibamund was defeated by the Massagetæ; and Gelimer himself, ignorant of the event, and misguided by the windings of the hills, passed the Roman army, and reached the scene of action where Ammatas had fell. He deplored the fate of his brother, and of Carthage; and charging the Roman squadrons with irresistible fury, might have decided the victory, had he not, by discharging a pious duty to the dead, allowed Belisarius time to press forward with his guards, and restore the fortune of the day. After a tumultuous conflict, the Vandal monarch fled before the Roman hero, and directed his steps towards the desert of Numidia. His private orders for the execution of Hilderic and his captive friends, were faithfully obeyed. But the revenge of the tyrant was useful to his enemies; and by removing a lawful prince, probably

saved

saved the general of Justinian from a crime which would have sullied his conquests.

Carthage, with joyful declamations, hailed and invited her Roman deliverers; the imperial fleet had anchored, ignorant of the revolution, a secure station in the lake of Tunis; Belisarius, after one day devoted to pomp and festivity, employed the mariners, the citizens, and the soldiers, in restoring the walls and ditches of the capital of Africa; and Gelimer beheld with astonishment and despair the strength of the rising fortifications. This unfortunate monarch, after collecting the remains of a scattered army, was encamped in the fields of Bulla, about four days journey from Carthage, when he received the letters of his brother Zano, with intelligence of the conquest of Sardinia. His answer was expressive of his situation. "Alas, my brother," replied Gelimer, "Heaven has "declared against our unhappy nation: our horses, "our ships, Carthage itself, and all Africa, are in the "power of the enemy; nothing now remains, except "the field of Bulla, and the hope of your valour. Abandon Sardinia; fly to our relief; restore our empire, "or perish by our side." On the receipt of this epistle, which was prudently concealed from the natives of the island, Zano hastily embarked the troops, cast anchor the third day on the confines of Mauritania, and joined the royal standard in the camp of Bulla.

The interview between the two brothers was mournful; but the languid spirit of the Vandals was at length awakened by the entreaties of their king, and by the example of Zano. Before the army reached Tri-

cameron, about twenty miles from Carthage, their numbers surpassed, in a ten-fold proportion, the powers of the Romans. But Belisarius, conscious of the superior merit of his troops, permitted the Barbarians to surprise him at an unseasonable hour. The Romans were instantly under arms. Till Zano fell, the conflict was obstinately maintained; but his death was followed by the retreat of Gelimer; and only fifty Romans, and eight hundred Vandals perished in the battle which decided the fate of Africa. The conqueror led his troops to storm the hostile camp; but Gelimer pusillanimously fled; and the Vandals, after their king had deserted them, hastily dispersed, anxious solely for their personal safety. The Romans entered the camp without resistance; and Belisarius, on the field of victory, passed an apprehensive night, sensible of the danger to which he was exposed by the disorder and intemperance of his troops. As soon as he had restored order to his camp, he dispatched a light detachment to pursue Gelimer, and advanced with his army as far as Hippo Regius. The season, and the intelligence that the Vandal had fled to the country of the Moors, determined Belisarius to return to Carthage; and from thence he informed the Emperor that he had atchieved the conquest of Africa in three months.

Sardinia and Corsica, with the isles of Majorca, Minorca, and Yvica, had indeed submitted; five dukes, or commanders, were established in Tripoli, Leptis, Cirta, Cæsarea, and Sardinia; but the conquest of Africa could scarcely be considered as complete till her former sovereign, either dead or alive, was delivered

livered into the hands of the Romans. By the indefatigable purſuit of his enemies, Gelimer had been chaſed, with ſome faithful followers, to the inacceſſible mountain of Papua, in the inland country of Numidia. He was immediately beſieged by Pharas, an officer who, though of the perfidious race of the Heruli, was celebrated for his truth and fidelity. Pharas, after being repulſed in an attempt to ſcale the mountain, awaited during a winter ſiege the operation of diſtreſs and famine. The Vandal monarch, from the unbounded command of induſtry and wealth, was reduced to ſhare the poverty of the Moors, who promiſcuouſly ſlept, together with their cattle, in rude hovels of mud and hurdles, which confined the ſmoke and excluded the light. Their garments were ſordid and ſcanty; the uſe of bread and wine was unknown; and their oaten cakes, imperfectly baked in the aſhes, were eagerly devoured by the hungry ſavages. The knowledge of the ſituation of the Vandal dictated a friendly epiſtle from Pharas, in which he adviſed the unfortunate Gelimer no longer to reject the gracious clemency of Juſtinian, and the ſacred aſſurances of Beliſarius.—"I am not inſenſible," replied the king of the Vandals, "how kind and rational is your advice; but I "cannot perſuade myſelf to become the ſlave of an "unjuſt enemy, who has deſerved my implacable "hatred. Him I had never injured either by word or "deed; yet he has ſent againſt me, I know not from "whence, a certain Beliſarius, who has caſt me headlong "from the throne into this abyſs of miſery. Juſtinian "is a man; he is a prince; does he not dread for

"himſelf

" himself a similar reverse of fortune? I can write " no more; my grief oppresses me; send me I be- " seech you, my dear Pharas, send me a lyre, a " sponge, and a loaf of bread." Pharas was informed from the messenger of the motives for this extraordinary request. It was long since the king of Africa had tasted bread; a defluxion had fallen on his eyes, the effects of incessant weeping; and he wished to solace the melancholy hours by singing to the lyre the sad story of his misfortunes. Pharas sent the gifts; but he redoubled the vigilance of his guard. Gelimer at length yielded on the solemn assurances of safety and honourable treatment; and in the first interview with Belisarius, the royal captive burst into a fit of laughter. The crowd might naturally believe Gelimer deprived of his senses; but his unseasonable mirth insinuated to the intelligent observer, that the scenes of human greatness are unworthy of a serious thought.

The merit of Belisarius soon excited the jealousy of the emperor. The alternative was left him to remain in the province, or return; but the general was sensible, from his sovereign's temper, that he must either resign his head, erect his standard, or confound his enemies by his presence and submission; his guards, his captives, and his treasures, were diligently embarked; and his arrival at Constantinople preceded any account of his departure from Carthage. His prompt obedience removed the apprehensions of Justinian, and extorted the honour of a triumph; but from the wealth of nations, and the trophies of luxury, which adorned the procession of the victor, the eyes of the

spectators were turned on Gelimer, who marched slowly along repeating the words of Solomon—VANITY! VANITY! ALL IS VANITY!

The services of Belisarius were immediately rewarded with the consulship; [A. D. 535.] and the misfortunes of Gelimer were alleviated by an ample estate in the province of Galatia, where the abdicated monarch retired with his family and his friends to a life of peace, of affluence, and perhaps of content. The bravest of the Vandal youth were distributed into five squadrons of cavalry, and the posterity of the common race insensibly mingled with the herd of African subjects.

Belisarius had scarce hoisted sail for Constantinople before the invasion of the Moors spread terror and desolation through the provinces of Africa; [A. D. 535.] these savages were repelled by Solomon, an eunuch, to whom the imperial general, when he embarked, entrusted the chief command. The beardless victor advanced thirteen days journey from Carthage to besiege mount Aurasius; and though he was compelled to retreat with some disgrace from his first attempt, in the second the ardour of his troops scaled the hostile mountain; a citadel erected on the top secured the important conquest; and by the arms of Solomon, the province of Mauritanian Sitifi was again annexed to the Roman empire.

Theudes, who had ascended the throne of Spain after the extinction of the royal line in the death of Amalaric, beheld with indifference the rapid downfal of the Vandals. [A. D. 550. 620.] On the death of

Theudes,

Theudes, the ſceptre of Spain was diſputed by a civil war. The weaker candidate claimed the protection of Juſtinian, and ſubſcribed a treaty of alliance which wounded the independence of his country. Several cities on the ocean and Mediterranean were ceded to the Roman troops; and during ſeventy years that the emperors retained any ſhare of theſe remote poſſeſſions, their vanity continued to number Spain in the liſt of their provinces.

A combination of domeſtic and public injuries had alienated the minds of the Oſtrogoths from their natural allies, the Vandals; and the conquerors of Italy beheld with pleaſure the ſubverſion of the Vandal kingdom of Africa. But they were ſoon convinced of the impolicy of their conduct, by the lofty language of Beliſarius, who menaced, in the name of the emperor, the recovery of the provinces withheld from the imperial authority. A nation of two hundred thouſand ſoldiers might have derided the haughty language of Juſtinian and his lieutenant; but a ſpirit of diſcord prevailed in Italy, and the Goths ſupported with reluctance the indignity of a female reign. Amalaſontha had been left guardian, by her father Theodoric, of her ſon Athalaric, and the kingdom of Italy. The beauty of Amalaſontha was acknowledged, and even dreaded by Theodora; and her manly underſtanding was laudably employed in regulating the kingdom, and directing the education of Athalaric. But the diſpoſition of the royal youth ill repaid the cares of his mother; and one ſolemn feſtival, when the Goths were aſſembled in the palace of Ravenna, he eſcaped

from

from the apartment of Amalasontha, and complained of a blow which his disobedience had provoked her to inflict. The Barbarians resented the indignity offered to their king, and insisted that he should be rescued from the discipline of women, and educated in the glorious ignorance of his ancestors. The assassination of three of the most formidable malecontents restored the queen mother to absolute power, but rendered her justly odious to a free people; and the death of Athalaric, who at the age of sixteen was consumed by premature intemperance, left her destitute of any firm support or legal authority. Instead of retiring to private affluence, the daughter of Theodoric conceived the impracticable design of sharing with one of her cousins the regal title, and of reserving in her own hands the supreme authority. Theodatus received the proposal with profound respect and affected gratitude; but Cassiodorius had scarce announced to the senate and the emperor that Amalasontha and Theodatus had ascended the throne of Italy, before the Queen was imprisoned by her perfidious colleague. [A. D. 535. April 30.] Her subsequent death was at least with the connivance, if not by the order of the new king.

Justinian beheld with joy the dissensions of the Goths; the imperial ambassadors, while they openly interceded for the queen, prompted by artful hints her private execution. They received intelligence of her death with apparent indignation; and denounced, in their master's name, immortal war against the perfidious assassin. The feeble forces, prepared for the enterprize, were strengthened by the fame of Belisarius;

Sicily

Sicily received the hero with open arms; the garrison of Palermo, which alone attempted to resist, was reduced by a singular stratagem; Belisarius introduced his ships into the harbour, their boats were hoisted by pullies to the topmast head; and he filled them with archers, who, from that station, commanded the ramparts of the city. [A. D. 535. December 31.] In the ensuing spring, the prosecution of his designs was interrupted by a dangerous revolt of the African forces; Carthage was saved by the presence of Belisarius, who unexpectedly landed with a thousand guards; eight thousand rebels were routed by the dexterity of the general; and this victory was scarce obtained, before he was recalled to Sicily to appease a sedition kindled during his absence in his camp.

The feeble Theodatus had consented to negociate with the emperor of the East; for the poor equivalent of a pension of forty-eight thousand pounds sterling, he offered to resign the kingdom of the Goths and Italians, and spend the remainder of his days in philosophy and agriculture. [A. D. 536.] but in the interval of suspence, two Roman generals, who had entered the province of Dalmatia, were defeated and slain by the Gothic troops; and Theodatus, rising from abject despair to groundless presumption, received, with menace and contempt, the ambassador of Justinian.

A. D. 537.] Belisarius, after he had left sufficient garrisons in Palermo and Syracuse, embarked his troops at Messina, and landed them at Rhegium. Ebermor, a Gothic prince, who had married the daughter of Theodatus, was stationed with an army to guard the

entrance of Italy; but faithleſs to his public and private duties, he deſerted, with his followers, to the imperial camp. From Rhegium to Naples, near three hundred miles, the fleet and army of Beliſarius advanced, without reſiſtance, along the ſea-coaſt. That city was garriſoned by eight hundred Barbarians; the fortifications were defended by precipices, or the ſea; the walls and fountains afforded a conſtant ſupply of water; and the ſtock of proviſions was ſufficient to conſume the patience of the beſiegers. At the end of twenty days, that of Beliſarius was almoſt exhauſted; when his anxiety was relieved by a bold Iſaurian, who explored the dry channel of an aqueduct, and reported, that a paſſage might be perforated, to introduce a file of armed ſoldiers into the city. After Beliſarius had in vain, admoniſhed the citizens of the impending danger, four hundred Romans entered the aqueduct, raiſed themſelves by a rope which they faſtened to an olive tree, ſurpriſed the centinels, and opened the gates to their companions. Every crime was practiſed by the tumultuous victors; and the authority of Beliſarius with difficulty prevailed to moderate the calamities which he had predicted.

Theodatus, during the ſiege of Naples, had ſecured his perſon within the walls of Rome; his cavalry was encamped in the Pomptine marſhes; but the principal forces of the Goths were diſtributed in Dalmatia, Venetia, and Gaul. Theſe rigorouſly ſcrutinized the character and weakneſs of their unfortunate maſter.—He was declared unworthy of his race, his nation, and his throne. Their general Vitiges, was raiſed with unanimous

unanimous applauſe on the bucklers of his companions; and Theodatus, endeavouring to eſcape from the juſtice of his country, was ſlaughtered on the Flaminian way by a Goth, whom he had injured in his love. Vitiges, impatient to return to Ravenna, that he might ſeize the reluctant hand of the daughter of Amalaſontha, and eſtabliſh ſome faint ſhadow of hereditary right, perſuaded the Goths to retreat from the preſence of a victorious enemy. He determined to delay, till next ſpring, the operations of offenſive war; to ſummon the ſcattered forces of the nation; to relinquiſh the diſtant poſſeſſions; and to truſt even Rome itſelf to the faith of its inhabitants. Leuderis, an aged warrior, was left in the capital with four thouſand ſoldiers; a feeble garriſon, incapable of oppoſing the wiſhes of the Romans. The deputies of the pope and clergy, the ſenate and the people, invited the lieutenant of Juſtinian to accept their voluntary allegiance. Beliſarius advanced, without moleſtation, along the Latin way, which ſkirted the foot of the mountains, and entered through the Aſinarian gate; the garriſon retired along the Flaminian road; Leuderis alone refuſed to accompany the fugitives, and was ſent as a trophy of victory, with the keys of Rome, to the emperor Juſtinian.

During the winter the activity of Vitiges had aſſembled, from their ruſtic habitations and diſtant garriſons, the forces of the Goths; and their monarch advanced along the Flaminian way, at the head of one hundred thouſand fighting men. The bridge of the Milvian bridge was betrayed by the conſterna-

tion of the Romans; and Belisarius, who had sallied with one thousand horse from the city, was suddenly encompassed by the hostile squadrons, while he believed them to be on the other side of the Tyber. [A. D. 537.] The fate of Italy depended on his life; every bow was bent, every javelin directed against him; the Roman general was strong and active; his guards imitated his valour; and the Goths, after the loss of a thousand men, fled before the arms of an hero. They were rashly pursued to their camp: and the Romans, oppressed by numbers, made a precipitate retreat to the city. The public terror was encreased by the report that Belisarius was slain. His countenance was indeed disfigured with sweat and blood; his voice was hoarse; his strength was almost exhausted: but he imparted his unconquerable spirit to his desponding companions; the Barbarians felt, and fled again before their charge; the Flaminian gate was thrown open to a real triumph; and Belisarius visited every post, and provided for the public safety, before he could be persuaded to taste the needful refreshments of food and sleep.

The army of the Goths immediately passed the Tyber, and formed the siege of Rome; for the defence of which Belisarius could only confide on the undisciplined zeal of the townsmen, and a band of veterans, who scarce amounted to five thousand men. Eighteen days were spent by the besiegers in military preparations, and constructing rolling towers; on the nineteenth they advanced to the attack. The vigour of the Goths was excited by the hope of victory and spoil;

ſpoil; and if a ſingle poſt had given way, Rome was irrecoverably loſt: but amidſt tumult and diſmay, the whole plan of the attack was diſtinctly preſent to the mind of Beliſarius. He obſerved the changes of each inſtant, weighed every poſſible advantage, tranſported his perſon to the ſcenes of danger, and communicated his ſpirit in calm and deciſive orders. The conteſt was fiercely maintained from the morning to the evening; the Barbarians were repulſed on all ſides; thirty thouſand Goths periſhed in the bloody action; and Beliſarius, ſallying from the gates, reduced the hoſtile engines to aſhes. From this day the ſiege of Rome degenerated into a tedious blockade, which continued almoſt a year. The beſiegers were haraſſed by frequent and ſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes; but in a more conſiderable action, which Baliſarius was induced to hazard by the clamours of his troops, the Romans were defeated; their retreat was covered by the prudent precautions of the general, whoſe deſigns were equally promoted by the vain confidence of the Goths, and the repentance and modeſty of his own troops.

But the danger of famine appeared to Beliſarius more dreadful than the Gothic arms. On the firſt idea of a ſiege, an extraordinary ſupply of corn was imported from Sicily; the harveſts of Campania and Tuſcany were forcibly ſwept away; and Rome was delivered from an uſeleſs and devouring multitude by the diſmiſſal of the women, the children, and the ſlaves; yet theſe precautions could not, in the laſt months of the ſiege, preſerve the people from the mi-

ſeries of ſcarcity, unwholeſome food, and contagious diſorders; Beliſarius pitied their ſufferings; but he rejected, with diſdain, the idea of flight, or capitulation; and by his vigilance ſecured the city from the effects of deſpair or treachery.

The repreſentations of Beliſarius, at length, obtained from Juſtinian, whoſe vanity aſpired to the conqueſt of Italy, ſome feeble reinforcements. Sixteen hundred Huns and Sclavonians entered the city, under the command of Martin and Valerian. Euthalius arrived with large ſums of money for the payment of the troops. Procopius was diſpatched to collect what aſſiſtance Campania could furniſh; and Antonina herſelf boldly traverſed the poſts of the enemy, and returned, with the Oriental ſuccours, to the relief of her huſband. The forces that arrived by ſea and land, were united at the mouth of the Tyber. In a council of war, convened by Antonina, it was reſolved to force a paſſage up the ſtream of the river; and the Goths were apprehenſive of diſturbing, by raſh hoſtilities, a negociation, to which Beliſarius craftily liſtened. They believed they beheld the vanguard of a fleet and army, which already covered the Ionian ſea and the plains of Campania. This illuſion was ſupported by the haughty language of the Roman general. When the ambaſſadors of Vitiges offered, for the ſake of peace, to renounce the poſſeſſion of Sicily; "the emperor is not leſs generous," replied his lieutenant, with a diſdainful ſmile; "in return for a gift "which you no longer poſſeſs, he preſents you with "an ancient province of the empire; he reſigns to the

"Goths

" Goths the ſovereignty of the Britiſh Iſland." With equal contempt Beliſarius rejected the offer of a tribute; but he conſented to a truce of three months, while the Gothic ambaſſadors enquired their fate from the mouth of Juſtinian. Alba, Porto, and Centumcellæ, which had been evacuated by the Goths, he inſtantly occupied; and he diſpatched John the Sanguinary, with two thouſand horſe, to ravage Picenum, where the Goths had depoſited their families and treaſures.

While Vitiges heſitated between ſhame and ruin, his retreat was haſtened by domeſtic alarms. He was informed by his trembling meſſengers, that John had ſpread the devaſtation of war from the Appennine to the Hadriatic: That this formidable chief had defeated his uncle, inſulted his capital, and ſeduced the fidelity of his wife, the daughter of the imperious Amalaſontha. [A. D. 538. March.] His laſt attempt to ſtorm, or ſurpriſe the city, was repelled by the intrepid vigilance of Beliſarius; and the Goths, preſſed by famine and deſpair, one year and nine days from the commencement of the ſiege, burnt their tents, and tumultuouſly repaſſed the Milvian bridge. Vitiges, after diſpatching his nephew, Uraias, with an adequate force for the chaſtiſement of Milan, which had revolted, at the head of his principal army beſieged Rimini; but the feeble rampart was defended by the ſkill and valour of John the Sanguinary. The eunuch Narſes landed in Picenum with two thouſand Heruli, and five thouſand of the braveſt troops of the Eaſt. Beliſarius himſelf appeared at the head of ten thouſand veterans; the Goths, aſtoniſhed and diſmayed, abandoned their ſtand-

ards and their leaders; and Vitiges himſelf never halted till he found ſhelter within the walls of Ravenna.

To theſe walls, and a few fortreſſes, the Gothic monarchy was reduced; but the imperial army was weakened by the diſcord of the chiefs. Beliſarius, before the end of the ſiege, had ſullied his fame by the arbitrary execution of Conſtantine, who was accuſed of rapine, but whoſe death was ſecretly imputed to the revenge of Antonina. Each of his colleagues, conſcious of the ſame crime, was apprehenſive of the ſame fate. Theſe encouraged Narſes to oppoſe the conqueror of Rome and Africa; and exhorted the eunuch, to whoſe counſels they aſcribed the relief of Rimini, to aſſume an independent command. Narſes, after yielding with reluctance to the ſiege of Urbino, deſerted his colleague in the night; and with the bands of the Heruli, and ten thouſand Romans and confederates, marched away to the conqueſt of the Æmilian province. Beliſarius, with the remnant of his forces, reduced Urbino, and laid ſiege to Fæſulæ, Orvieto, and Auximum. Narſes was at laſt recalled; all diſſenſions were healed; but in the interval of diſcord, the Goths were permitted to breathe; Milan was taken; and the northern provinces of Italy were invaded by the Franks.

Theodebert, of Auſtraſia, the moſt powerful of the Merovingian kings, was perſuaded, by the gifts of the Goths, to afford them an indirect ſupport. Ten thouſand Burgundians, without the apparent conſent of their ſovereign, deſcended from the Alps, and joined the troops of Vitiges in the ſiege of Milan. After an obſtinate reſiſtance, that city was reduced by famine; three

three hundred thouſand males were reported to have periſhed in the maſſacre; and the walls of Milan were levelled with the ground. Encouraged by this inroad, Theodebert himſelf appeared at the head of one hundred thouſand Barbarians in the plains of Italy. [A. D. 539.] The provinces of Liguria and Æmilia were abandoned to the rage of the Franks, whoſe meaſures were equally hoſtile to the Romans and the Goths. But a dyſentery ſwept off one third of the victorious army. Theodebert was perſuaded to retire, by the mild exhortations of Belifarius; and the death of the Merovingian king, by a wild bull, as he was hunting in the German foreſts, delivered the empire from the danger of his future enmity.

Belifarius, in the reduction of Oſimo, had narrowly eſcaped the mortal ſtroke of an arrow; and Vitiges was inveſted in Ravenna, the fortifications of which were ſuperior to aſſault; the imperial general was compelled to proceed by the ſlow, but more certain, attacks of famine. While he preſſed the blockade, he was ſurpriſed by the arrival of two ambaſſadors from Conſtantinople, with a treaty of peace ſigned by Juſtinian. This diſgraceful agreement left the provinces beyond the Po, with the regal title, to the ſucceſſor of Theodoric: but though each of his officers had delivered a written opinion, that the ſiege of Ravenna was hopeleſs, the general boldly rejected the treaty of partition, and reſolved to ſuſtain the danger of a generous diſobedience. He declared his reſolution of leading Vitiges, in chains, to the feet of Juſtinian. The Goths were aſtoniſhed at his firmneſs; they compared the fame

fame and fortune of Belisarius, with the weakness of their unfortunate king; and they offered their arms and treasures to place the hero, as their independent monarch, on the throne of Italy. The policy of Belisarius persuaded them, that he was disposed to comply with their wishes, without engaging an oath for the performance of a treaty, which he secretly abhorred.—The gates of Ravenna were thrown open to the supposed king of Italy; [A. D. 539. December.] and before the Goths could recover from their surprize, the city was secured beyond the danger of revolt. Vitiges was respectfully, but diligently guarded in the palace; the flower of the Gothic youth was selected for the service of the emperor; and the submission of the capital was imitated by the towns and villages of Italy.

The jealousy of Justinian once more recalled Belisarius, who embarked at Ravenna his spoils and captives; the emperor received, with honourable courtesy, both Vitiges and his noble consort; and, as the king of the Goths conformed to the Athanasian faith, he obtained, with a rich inheritance of lands in Asia, the rank of senator and patrician. But the conqueror of Italy was not allowed the well-earned honours of a second triumph. Yet the presence of the hero, whenever he appeared in the streets, attracted the eyes of the people. His fellow-citizens were emboldened by his gentle demeanour; his soldiers were attached by his liberality and justice; and the provincials were engaged by the peace and plenty which they enjoyed under his authority; instead of being injured, the country was enriched, by the march of Roman armies; and such was the rigid

rigid diſcipline of his camp, that not a path could be traced in the neighbouring fields of corn. Beliſarius himſelf was ſober and chaſte; no one had ever ſeen him intoxicated with wine; and the moſt beautiful captives of Gothic and Vandal race, were in vain offered to his embraces.

But the fame of the hero, was tarniſhed by the degrading tameneſs of the huſband. Antonina was the daughter of a theatrical proſtitute; and in the various ſituations of fortune, ſhe became the companion, the enemy, the ſervant, and the favourite, of the empreſs Theodora. Before her marriage with Beliſarius, Antonina had one huſband and many lovers. Photius, the ſon of her former nuptials, was of an age to diſtinguiſh himſelf at the ſiege of Naples: but it was not till the autumn of her age, that ſhe indulged herſelf in a ſcandalous attachment to a Thracian youth of the name of Theodoſius. The Roman general ſurpriſed, at Carthage, the two lovers, almoſt naked, in a ſolitary chamber. "With the help of this young man," ſaid the unbluſhing Antonina, "I was ſecreting our moſt "precious effects from the knowledge of Juſtinian."— The pious huſband conſented to diſbelieve his own ſenſes, and the youth reſumed his garments. At Syracuſe, Beliſarius was awakened from this deluſion, by the information of Macedonia, a female attendant, and two chamberlains. Theodoſius eſcaped from the juſtice of an injured huſband by a haſty flight: but the tears of Antonina aſſured the credulous hero of her innocence; and he abandoned to the revenge of a guilty woman, thoſe friends who had preſumed to doubt the chaſtity

chaſtity of his wife. A declaration of Conſtantine; "I "would ſooner have puniſhed the adultereſs than the boy," was deeply remembered by Antonina; and when deſpair armed that officer againſt his general, her ſanguinary advice decided and haſtened his execution.—Theodoſius returned to Italy; the paſſion of Antonina was unabated; but time inſpired her lover with more ſerious thoughts; he eſcaped from her embraces, retired to Epheſus, ſhaved his head, and took refuge in the ſanctuary of a monaſtic life; and it was not till Beliſarius moved forward to the Perſian war, that Theodoſius could be tempted to return to Conſtantinople.

The ſhame of the adultereſs ſcarce equalled the unnatural temper of the mother; and the gallant Photius, in the camp beyond the Tigris, was expoſed to the ſecret perſecutions of Antonina. Enraged by his own wrongs, and the diſhonour of his blood, he revealed to Beliſarius the turpitude of his wife. The Roman general, and his ſon-in-law, confirmed, at the altar, their holy vows of mutual revenge and defence. The dominion of Antonina was impaired by abſence; and when ſhe met her huſband, in his firſt and tranſient emotions, he confined her perſon, and threatened her life. Photius was more reſolved to puniſh; he flew to Epheſus; extorted from an eunuch of his mother the full confeſſion of her guilt; arreſted Theodoſius and his treaſures in the church of St. John, and confined his captives in a ſequeſtered fortreſs of Cilicia. Such a daring outrage againſt public juſtice, could not paſs with impunity. The cauſe of Antinona was

eſpouſed

eſpouſed by the empreſs. Beliſarius was haſtily recalled, and reconciled to his wife in the preſence of Theodora; Theodoſius was reſcued from his impriſonment; and the ſhort remainder of his life was devoted to the gratification of his miſtreſs; but the premature death of the monk of Epheſus, could only be expiated by the puniſhment of Photius, who was purſued by the implacable hatred of his mother; though a youth of a ſickly conſtitution and conſular dignity, he was expoſed to the tortures of the ſcourge and the rack, which he bore without violating the faith he had pledged to Beliſarius. After this cruelty he was buried in a ſubterraneous priſon, from whence, after three years, he effected his eſcape, reached the holy ſepulchre of Jeruſalem, embraced the profeſſion of a monk; and the abbot Photius, after the death of Juſtinian, was employed to regulate the churches of Egypt.

In the ſucceeding campaign, Beliſarius ſaved the Eaſt; but he offended Theodora, and perhaps the emperor himſelf. On a rumour of the death of Juſtinian, the Roman general had ſpoken the free language of a citizen and a ſoldier. He was immediately recalled; but that diſgrace which for the ſame crime overwhelmed his colleague Buzes, was alleviated in Beliſarius by the dignity of his own character, and the influence of his wife. A fine of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds ſterling was levied on his fortunes; and with the office of count, or maſter of the royal ſtables, he accepted the conduct of the Italian war. On his departure

parture from Conſtantinople, his friends, and even the public, were perſuaded that he would turn his arms againſt his ungrateful ſovereign; but their hopes were deceived by the unconquerable patience and loyalty of the Roman general.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXIX.

STATE OF THE BARBARIC WORLD—ESTBLISHMENT OF THE LOMBARDS ON THE DANUBE—TRIBES AND INROADS OF THE SCLAVONIANS—ORIGIN, EMPIRE, AND EMBASSIES OF THE TURKS—THE FLIGHT OF THE AVARS—CHOSROES I. OR NUSHIRVAN, KING OF PERSIA—HIS PROSPEROUS REIGN AND WAR WITH THE ROMANS—THE COLCHIAN, OR LAZIC WAR—THE ÆTHIOPIANS.

THE regular forces of the empire had once amounted to ſix hundred and forty-five thouſand men; in the time of Juſtinian they conſiſted of only one hundred and fifty thouſand. Theſe were thinly ſcattered over ſea and land; in Spain and Italy, in Africa and Egypt, on the banks of the Danube, the coaſt of the Euxine, and the frontiers of Perſia. The neglected pay of the ſoldiers was compenſated by the privilege of rapine and indolence; the want of national ſpirit was ſupplied by the precarious faith and diſorderly ſervice of Barbarian mercenaries. The generals inſtead of promoting the public ſervice, laboured only to prevent the ſucceſs, or to ſully the reputation of their colleagues. Military honour was almoſt extinct; and the fame of former heroes ſeemed confined alone to the perſons of Beliſarius and Narſes. The emperor, timid though ambitious, fomented the diviſions of the Barbarians by the arts of flattery and falſehood, and invited by his patience

patience and liberality the repetition of injuries. Antioch was deſtroyed by the Perſians, and Juſtinian trembled in his palace for the ſafety of his capital, while his lieutenant atchieved the conqueſts of Carthage, Rome, and Ravenna.

The Goths to oppoſe the arms of Beliſarius, had relinquiſhed the barrier of the Upper Danube, and evacuated Pannonia and Noricum. The Gepidæ, ſince the death of Attila, had poſſeſſed the plains of Upper Hungary and the Tranſylvanian hills. The vacant fortifications of the Danube were diligently occupied by theſe Barbarians; their ſtandards were planted on the walls of Sirmium and Belgrade; and the injury was aggravated by the ironical tone of their apology. "So extenſive, O Cæſar! are your dominions; ſo "numerous are your cities; that you are continually "ſeeking for nations to whom, either in peace or war, "you may relinquiſh theſe uſeleſs poſſeſſions. The "Gepidæ are your brave and faithful allies; and if "they have anticipated your gifts, they have ſhewn a "juſt confidence in your bounty." The emperor, inſtead of aſſuming himſelf the protection of his ſubjects, invited a ſtrange people to avenge the inſult of the invaders; to occupy the provinces between the Danube and the Alps; and to check the ambition of the Gepidæ by the fame and power of the LOMBARDS.

This appellation, a corruption of *Langobards*, which denoted the length of beard, was appropriated to a barbarous people, who in the time of Auguſtus and Trajan, were diſcovered between the Elbe and the Oder. The ſmallneſs of their numbers was recruited by

by the adoption of their braveſt ſlaves; and alone, amidſt their powerful neighbours, they defended, by arms, their martial independence. Amidſt the conflicts of the various nations of the north, they gradually deſcended towards the ſouth and the Danube; and preſerved, during four hundred years, their ancient valour and ferocious manners. The Heruli, who inhabited the ſouthern provinces of Poland, were defeated and diſperſed by theſe more hardy Barbarians; who paſſed the Danube at the ſolicitation of Juſtinian, to reduce, according to treaty, the cities of Noricum and Pannonia. Their predatory incurſions often violated the ſafety of their Roman allies; and a conteſt of thirty years with the Gepidæ, was only terminated by the extirpation of that people. Forty thouſand of the Lombards periſhed in the deciſive battle which broke the power of their adverſaries, transferred the fears of Juſtinian, and diſplayed the character of Alboin, the prince of the victorious nation, and the future conqueror of Italy.

The two great tribes who, in the reign of Juſtinian, wandered over the plains of Ruſſia, Lithuania, and Poland, were diſtinguiſhed by the name of BULGARIANS and SCLAVONIANS. The former, who touched the Euxine and the lake Mæotis, derived from the Huns their name and deſcent, their arms and their manners; and were divided into two hoſtile parties, who purſued each other with implacable hatred; theſe were both equally attracted by Roman wealth, and their rapid marches could only be ſtopped by the Baltic ſea, and the extreme cold and povertyof the north. The form of

the Sclavonians differed from the ſwarthy Tartars; and they approached, without attaining, the lofty ſtature and fair complexion of the Germans. Their huts were haſtily conſtructed of rough timber, and erected in the depth of foreſts, or on the banks of rivers. The fertility of the ſoil, rather than the labour of the natives, ſupplied the ruſtic plenty of the Sclavonians; their ſheep and horned cattle were large and numerous; the fields which they ſowed with millet, afforded them a coarſe but wholeſome food; and even in their ſavage ſtate, they are repreſented as poſſeſſing the virtues of patience, chaſtity, and hoſpitality. They adored, as the ſupreme God, the inviſible maſter of thunder; but they diſdained to obey any prince, or even magiſtrate; and their paſſions were too headſtrong to compoſe any ſyſtem of equal law or general defence. Some voluntary reſpect was yielded to age or valour; but each tribe exiſted as a ſeparate and independent republic; they fought on foot almoſt naked, and except an unwieldy ſhield, without any defenſive armour; their weapons of offence were a bow, a quiver of ſmall poiſoned arrows, and a rope which they dexterouſly threw from a diſtance, and entangled their enemy in a running nooſe.

The intermediate boundaries between the Sclavonians and the Bulgarians were ſcarce known to the Barbarians themſelves. Their importance was meaſured by their vicinity to the empire. The level country of Moldavia and Wallachia was occupied by a tribe of the Sclavonians, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Antes; againſt theſe Juſtinian erected the fortifications

of

of the Lower Danube, and laboured to ſecure the alliance of a people ſeated in the direct channel of northern inundation. But the Antes wanted power or inclination to ſtem the torrent. The Sclavonian foot followed with equal ſpeed the Bulgarian horſe, and a free retreat was purchaſed through the country of the Gepidæ, who commanded the paſſage of the Upper Danube, by the payment of a piece of gold for each ſoldier. The uniform repetition of annual incurſions was almoſt effaced by the invaſion of the Bulgarians, in the year, and about the time, that Ravenna ſurrendered; they ſpread from the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople to the Ionian gulph, and repaſſed the Danube with the miſerable train of one hundred and twenty thouſand captives. In a ſubſequent inroad, they pierced the wall of the Thracian Cherſoneſus, and returned with the ſpoils of Aſia; another party penetrated from the ſtreights of Thermopylæ to the iſthmus of Corinth, and involved in deſtruction what yet remained of Grecian magnificence. Three thouſand Sclavonians, divided into three bands, paſſed the Danube and the Hebrus, vanquiſhed the Roman generals who oppoſed their progreſs, and plundered, with impunity, the cities of Illyricum and Thrace. So fatal were their devaſtations, that the hiſtorian of Juſtinian aſſerts, theſe inroads annually conſumed two hundred thouſand of the inhabitants of the Roman empire.

Europe, amidſt theſe calamities, felt the ſhock of a revolution, which firſt revealed the name and nation of the Turks. This martial people boaſt that their founder, like Romulus, was ſuckled by a ſhe-wolf; and the

ſame fable has been invented, without any intermediate intercourſe, by the Latian, and the Scythian ſhepherds. The authority of the khan of the Geougen extended over the mountains of Altai, the centre of Aſia; and the Turks who inhabited that ridge of hills were compelled, for the ſervice of their maſter, to forge into arms the minerals they contained. The annual ceremony, in which a piece of iron was heated in the fire, and a ſmith's hammer was ſucceſſively handled by the prince and his nobles, recorded for ages the humble profeſſion of the Turkiſh nation. [A. D. 545.] Bertezena firſt exhorted his countrymen to uſe the weapons they prepared for their maſters, as the inſtruments of freedom and victory; their valour was ſignalized in ſucceſsful combats againſt the neighbouring tribes; but when their leader preſumed to aſk in marriage the daughter of the great khan, the demand was contemptuouſly rejected. A more noble alliance with a princeſs of China expiated this diſgrace; and the ſubſequent defeat, and almoſt extirpation, of the nation of the Geougen, eſtabliſhed in Tartary the powerful empire of the Turks. But though they reigned over the north, they remained faithfully attached to the mountain of Altai; and diſdained the alluring luxury of China; in their religion, they preſerved the ſimple practice of their anceſtors. The ſupreme Deity was acknowledged by the excluſive honours of ſacrifice; but they alſo expreſſed their obligations to the air, the fire, the water, and the earth. Their written laws were ſevere and impartial; theft was puniſhed by tenfold reſtitution; adultery, treachery, and murder, with

death; but no chaſtiſement could equal the inexpiable guilt of cowardice. The northern limits of the Turkiſh conqueſts extended as far as Kamtchatka; and on the ſouth, the White Huns, who had vanquiſhed the Perſian monarch, and carried their victorious arms along the banks of the Indus, yielded to their irreſiſtible valour. On the ſide of the weſt, they paſſed the lake Mœotis when frozen, and beſieged the Roman city of Boſphorus; and to the eaſt, the empire of China was continually afflicted by their deſtructive incurſions. This extent of empire compelled the Turkiſh monarch to eſtabliſh three ſubordinate princes of his own blood, who ſoon forgot their gratitude and allegiance; the conquerors were enervated by luxury; the vanquiſhed nations reſumed their independence; and the power of the Turks was limited to a period of two hundred years.

The nation of the Ogors, on the banks of the Til, was ſubdued by the Turks; their khan, with three hundred thouſand of his ſubjects, was ſlain in battle; about twenty thouſand ſurviving warriors, preferring exile to ſervitude, followed the road of the Volga, aſſumed the falſe but formidable name of the Avars, whoſe lawful proprietors had ſubmitted to the Turkiſh yoke, and at the foot of mount Caucaſus, in the country of the Alani and Circaſſians, firſt heard of the ſplendour and weakneſs of the Roman empire. Their ambaſſador, with the permiſſion of the governor of Lazica, was tranſported by the Euxine ſea to Conſtantinople, [A. D. 558.] and the improvident Juſtinian accepted the proffered alliance of a ſtrange people, who

readily devoted themſelves to the ſervice of the empire; but demanded in return precious gifts, annual ſubſidies, and fruitful poſſeſſions. Valentin, one of the emperor's guards, returned with the ambaſſador to the camp, at the foot of mount Caucaſus; he eaſily perſuaded the Avars, by ſplendid preſents and promiſes, to invade the enemies of Rome; and in leſs than ten years theſe fugitives had reduced the Bulgarian and Sclavonian tribes, and pitched their camps on the Danube and the Elbe. The chagan, the peculiar title of their king, ſtill affected to cultivate the friendſhip of the emperor; but the virtue or treachery of an Avar betrayed the ſecret hoſtile deſigns of his countrymen, and awakened the fears and jealouſy of the imperial court.

But though the pretended Avars had penetrated to ſuch a diſtance from the arms of their conquerors, an ambaſſador, from the great khan, had traced their ſteps, and arrived at the Byzantine court to propoſe the alliance of the Turks againſt the Perſian monarch. Maniach, the prince of the Sogdoites, enumerated the conqueſts and power of his maſter, Diſabul; and requeſted that the ſucceſſor of Conſtantine would not eſpouſe the cauſe of rebels and fugitives. The emperor profeſſedly renounced the Avars, and his ratification of a treaty with the Turks was carried by a Roman miniſter to the foot of mount Altai. The ambition of Choſroes cemented the union of the Turks and Romans, who touched his dominions on either ſide; but thoſe diſtant nations, regardleſs of each other, conſulted the dictates of intereſt, inſtead of the obligations of treaties; and the ambaſſadors of Tiberius were reduced

duced to liſten to the reproaches of the ſon and ſucceſſor of Diſabul. "You Romans," ſaid the haughty Barbarian, "ſpeak with many tongues, but they are "tongues of deceit and perjury; while your maſter "ſolicits my friendſhip with flattering and hollow "words, he is ſunk to a confederate of my fugitive "Ogors. If I condeſcend to march againſt thoſe con-"temptible ſlaves, they will tremble at the ſound of "our whips; they will be trampled like a neſt of ants "under the feet of my innumerable cavalry. I am not "ignorant of the road which they have followed to "invade your empire; nor can I be deceived by the "vain pretence, that mount Caucaſus is the impreg-"nable barrier of the Romans. I know the courſe "of the Nieſter, the Danube, and the Hebrus; the "moſt warlike nations have yielded to the arms of the "Turks; and from the riſing to the ſetting ſun, the "earth is my inheritance." Notwithſtanding this menace, a ſenſe of advantage prevailed over the reſentment of the khan, and the alliance was renewed between the Turks and the Romans.

Cabades, the Perſian monarch, whoſe victory over Amida we have already mentioned, had experienced during a diſtracted reign, the viciſſitudes of fortune. A priſoner in the hands of his ſubjects; an exile among the enemies of Perſia; his laſt years were embittered by the diſorders of his people, and the fanaticiſm of Mazdak, who aſſerted the community of women, and the equality of mankind. Cabades had recovered his liberty by proſtituting the honour of his wife, and regained his kingdom by the aid of the Barbarians, who

had ſlain his father. His partiality for his third ſon Choſroes, or Nuſhirvan, induced him to alter by his will the cuſtomary order of ſucceſſion; and to render the youth more illuſtrious, Cabades was deſirous that he ſhould be adopted by the emperor Juſtin. The Perſian prince had already advanced, with the conſent of the Byzantine court, as far as the Tigris, when his journey was ſtopped by the advice of the quæſtor Proclus, leſt the adoption might be urged as a claim to the inheritance of his Roman parent. The indignity ſunk deep in the mind of Choſroes, who ſoon after, by the death of his father, was exalted by a powerful party to the throne of Perſia.

The repoſe of Choſroes was ſecured, on the pretence of a ſlight conſpiracy, by the death of his two elder brothers, their families, and adherents. One guiltleſs youth was diſmiſſed by a veteran general; and this act of humanity overbalanced the merit of reducing twelve nations to the obedience of Perſia. Mebodes had fixed the diadem on the head of Choſroes himſelf; but he delayed to attend the royal ſummons till he had performed the duties of a military review; and his ſentence was pronounced by the inflexible pride and ingratitude of his maſter. But where his own dignity interfered not, the government of Choſroes was firm, rigorous, and impartial. He aboliſhed the dangerous theory of common or equal poſſeſſions; he revived and publiſhed the laws of the firſt Artaxerxes; he extended his care to the education of his ſubjects, and the cultivation of their lands; and the example of the monarch awakened the curioſity of an ingenious people, and diffuſed

fuſed the light of ſcience throughout the dominions of Perſia.

When Choſroes aſcended the throne of Perſia, he found that kingdom involved in a war with the emperor of Conſtantinople. The policy of Juſtinian conſented to purchaſe a peace at the price of eleven thouſand pounds of gold; the gates of Caucaſus were aſſumed by the Perſian; and the demolition of Dara was ſuſpended on condition that it ſhould never be made the reſidence of the general of the Eaſt. This interval was diligently improved by the ambition of Juſtinian; the avarice of Choſroes was ſoothed by a large portion of the ſpoils of Carthage; but he heard with aſtoniſhment, envy, and fear, that Sicily, Italy, and Rome itſelf, had been reduced in three rapid campaigns by the arms of Beliſarius. He excited his bold and ſubtle vaſſal Almondar, who waged an obſcure war againſt the chief of the tribe of Gaſſen, a confederate of the empire, to invade and ravage the province of Syria; and Juſtinian, inſtead of repelling by arms the incurſions of Almondar, endeavoured to ſeduce his allegiance; and invited the diſtant nations of Æthiopia and Scythia to attack the dominions of the Perſian. The diſcovery of this hoſtile correſpondence juſtified the complaints of the Goths and Armenians, who about the ſame time implored the protection of Choſroes. Their repreſentations were uniform, weighty, and effectual. "The ambitious and faithleſs Juſtinian "aſpires to be the ſole maſter of the world. Has he "not violated the privileges of Armenia, the inde-"pendence of Colchos, and the wild liberty of the Tzanian

" Tzanian mountains? has he not uſurped with equal " avidity the city of Boſphorus on the frozen Mæotis, " and the vale of palm trees on the ſhores of the Red " Sea? The Moors, the Vandals, and the Goths, have " been ſucceſſively oppreſſed, and each nation has calm- " ly remained the ſpectator of their neighbour's ruin. " Embrace, O King! the favourable moment; the " Eaſt is left without defence, while the armies of " Juſtinian, and his renowned general, are detained in " the diſtant region of the Weſt. If you heſitate and " delay, Belisarius will ſoon return from the Tyber " to the Tygris, and Perſia may enjoy the wretched " conſolation of being the laſt devoured." Theſe arguments were ſufficient to perſuade an ambitious king, and Choſroes determined in perſon to ſupport the cauſe of the ſupplicants.

At the head of his army, which had been aſſembled in the plains of Babylon, the ſon of Cabades, prudently declining the ſtrong cities of Meſopotamia, followed the weſtern bank of the Euphrates, and burſt by treachery and ſurprize the gates of Dura. His rapid cavalry preſſed forward into the heart of Syria, while the feeble enemy vaniſhed at his approach, and diſappointed him of the honour of victory. Hierapolis, Aleppo, Apamea, and Chalcis, were ſucceſſively beſieged. They redeemed their ſafety by a ranſom of gold and ſilver; and their new maſter enforced, without obſerving, the terms of capitulation. Fourteen years before Antioch had been ruined by an earthquake: but the capital of the Eaſt, the new Theopolis, had been raiſed from the ground by the liberality of Juſti-

Juſtinian. Germanus, the emperor's nephew, refuſed to truſt his perſon within the walls of a beſieged city; but the people of Theopolis were elated by the ſudden reinforcement of ſix thouſand ſoldiers. The Perſian hoſt mounted with ſcaling ladders to the aſſault, and the Roman mercenaries fled through the oppoſite gate. The city was delivered to the flames, though ſome ſmall portion was preſerved by the avarice of the victor, and the ſudden change of the wind. Eighteen miles below Antioch the river Orontes falls into the Mediterranean; the haughty Perſian viſited the term of his conqueſts, and after bathing in the ſea, offered a ſolemn ſacrifice to the ſun. With the ſpoil of Syria, he ſlowly moved to the Euphrates, threw a temporary bridge over that river, and on his return founded near Cteſiphon, a city to perpetuate the joint names of Choſroes and Antioch. Paleſtine and the holy wealth of Jeruſalem, next inflamed his deſires; and Conſtantinople, and the palace of the Cæſars, no longer appeared impregnable or remote.

To diſappoint theſe hopes, the conqueror of Italy was recalled to the defence of the Eaſt. While Choſroes purſued his deſigns on the coaſt of the Euxine, Beliſarius encamped beyond the Euphrates within ſix miles of Niſibis. His plan to draw the Perſians from that impregnable citadel was diſconcerted by the untractable ſpirit of Arethas, and his Arabs, whom he had detached to ravage Aſſyria, and who neither returned, nor ſent any intelligence of his motions. After reducing the fortreſs of Siſaurane, the Roman general was recalled; but the dangers of the enſuing ſpring reſtored

reſtored him to confidence and command, and the hero was diſpatched to repel by his name the invaſion of Syria. He found the Roman generals impriſoned by their fears in the fortifications of Hierapolis. He commanded them, without liſtening to their timid counſels, to follow him to Europus, where he had reſolved to collect his forces. His firm attitude on the banks of the Euphrates reſtrained Choſroes from advancing towards Paleſtine, and the Perſian monarch was deluded by the addreſs, and awed by the genius of the lieutenant of Juſtinian. He dreaded to hazard a deciſive battle in a diſtant country; he haſtened to repaſs the Euphrates; and Beliſarius preſſed his retreat by affecting to oppoſe it. The ſecond removal of Beliſarius from the Perſian to the Italian war, diſplayed the extent of his genius. Fifteen generals who ſucceeded him were defeated by four thouſand Perſians, as they led through the mountains of Armenia an army of thirty thouſand Romans. But the cities of Dara and Edeſſa reſiſted the aſſault of the Perſians, and the calamities of war were ſuſpended by thoſe of famine. The eaſtern frontier was protected by a tacit agreement between the two ſovereigns, and the arms of Choſroes were confined to the Colchian or Lazic wars.

The length of the Euxine ſea from Conſtantinople to the Phaſis, may be computed at ſeven hundred miles. In the courſe of one hundred miles the Phaſis, which deſcends from the craggy mountains of the Iberian Caucaſus, divides the celebrated region of Colchos, or Mingrelia. Three ſides of the country are fortified by the Iberian and Armenian mountains; and

and the maritime coaſt extends about two hundred miles from the neighbourhood of Trebizond to Dioſcurias, and the confines of Circaſſia. The ſoil and climate are both injuriouſly moiſt; but the fields produce a grain, not unlike millet, called *gom*, which ſupplied the ordinary food of the people; and the ſtems of the vines, as well as the quality of wine, diſplay the unaſſiſted powers of Nature. The gold mines to the ſouth of Trebizond were a ſubject of national diſpute between Juſtinian and Choſroes; and it is not improbable that a vein of that precious metal is diffuſed through the circle of the hills.

The natives of Mingrelia, amidſt the rudeſt ignorance, diſcover a ſingular dexterity both of mind and hand; and although the want of union expoſes them to their more powerful neighbours, a bold and intrepid ſpirit has animated the Colchians of every age. In the hoſt of Xerxes they ſerved on foot; but in their own country the uſe of cavalry has more generally prevailed. The meaneſt of the peaſants diſdain to walk; each noble is poſſeſſed, perhaps, of two hundred horſes; and above five thouſand are reported to belong to the prince of Mingrelia. The Colchian government has always been a pure and hereditary kingdom; and the authority of the ſovereign is only reſtrained by the turbulence of his ſubjects; but it is ſcarce credible, that from the ſingle tribe of Suanians he could aſſemble two hundred thouſand ſoldiers; or that the population of Mingrelia now amounts to four millions of inhabitants.

The Colchians boaſt that their anceſtors checked the

the victories of Seſoſtris: without any memorable effort they ſunk under the arms of Cyrus; and their territory was added by Mithridates to the wide circle of his dominions. In the purſuit of that prince, the Romans advanced to the banks of the Phaſis; but the ſenate diſdained the uſeleſs conqueſt; and the family of a Greek rhetorician, of the name of Polemo, was permitted to reign in Colchos, from the time of Mark Antony to that of Nero. After that race was extinct, the eaſtern Pontus extended no farther than the neighbourhood of Trebizond. Beyond thoſe limits the fortifications of Hyſſus, of Apſarus, of the Phaſis, of Dioſcurias, and of Pityus, were guarded by Roman detachments. As the ſtrength of the empire was gradually impaired, the Romans, ſtationed on the Phaſis, were withdrawn or expelled; and the tribe of Lazi impoſed their name and dominion on the ancient kingdom of Colchos. The king of Lazica was ſoon compelled to receive his ſceptre at the hands of the Perſian monarch; and the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine acquieſced in the injurious claim. In the beginning of the ſixth century their influence was reſtored by the introduction of Chriſtianity; Zathus had been exalted to the regal dignity by the favour of the great king; but the pious youth abhorred the ceremonies of the magi, and ſought baptiſm at Conſtantinople. The king of Lazica was inveſted by the emperor Juſtin with the diadem; and the revolt of Colchos was excuſed by the venerable names of religion and hoſpitality.

But the connection between the Lazi and the Romans was ſoon interrupted by the avarice and ambi-

tion of the latter. They erected a fort at Petra, which commanded the territory to the ſouth of the Phaſis. The country was inſulted, the commerce monopolized, and the prince Gubazes reduced to a pageant of royalty by the officers of Juſtinian. The indignant Lazi ſolicited the aid of Choſroes; the ambitious monarch ſilently led his troops to the frontiers of Iberia; they were conducted through the narrow paſſes of Mount Caucaſus; Petra capitulated; and Gubazes laid his diadem at the feet of the Perſian monarch; but the natives ſoon diſcovered that the new maſter excelled even their old in the arts of oppreſſion. The intolerant zeal of the magi provoked the fervour of a Chriſtian people; Choſroes, ſenſible of their hatred, had given orders to aſſaſſinate the king, and to tranſplant the people; but theſe deſigns were averted by the jealouſy of the Colchians; their repentance was accepted by Juſtinian; and Dagiſteus was commanded, with ſeven thouſand Romans, and one thouſand Zani, to expel the Perſians from the coaſt of the Euxine.

The ſiege of Petra, which the imperial general, with the aid of the Lazi, immediately undertook, is one of the moſt remarkable actions of the age. The city was ſeated on a craggy rock; the fortifications of Juſtinian had been ſtrengthened by the Perſian conqueror; the ſtock of proviſions was adequate to the conſumption of five years; and fifteen hundred Perſians ſteadily oppoſed the aſſault of the Romans; but the walls were ſhaken, and the garriſon reduced to four hundred, when Petra was unexpectedly relieved; the breaches were haſtily ſtopped, and three thouſand

ſoldiers

ſoldiers were devoted to the labours of a new ſiege; the operations both of the attack and defence were conducted with ſkilful obſtinacy. Of ſix thouſand Romans who mounted the ſcaling ladders, their general Beſſas, a veteran of ſeventy years, was the firſt; his fall and danger animated the efforts of his troops, and their numbers oppreſſed the ſtrength, without ſubduing the ſpirit of the garriſon. Seven hundred Perſians had periſhed in the ſiege; one thouſand and ſeventy fell in the laſt aſſault; of ſeven hundred and thirty made priſoners, only eighteen were without wounds; and the remaining five hundred retired to the citadel; and, rejecting the faireſt offers of capitulation, were loſt in the flames.

The Perſian forces were at length collected, and poured into the country of Colchos; they devoured, with their numbers, the ſcanty ſuſtenance of the people, and compelled the Romans gradually to retreat towards the edge of the ſea ſhore; their camp was defended by ſtrong intrenchments, the river Phaſis, the Euxine, and a fleet of gallies. The Perſians in their endeavours to force an enemy, whom deſpair had rendered deſperate, were repulſed with diſgrace, and purſued with the ſlaughter of ten thouſand of their braveſt ſoldiers; and Choſroes inſenſibly relinquiſhed the Colchian war, in the juſt perſuaſion that it was impoſſible to reduce a diſtant country againſt the efforts of its inhabitants. The fidelity of Gubazes had ſuſtained the moſt rigorous trials; he had diſdained the temptations of the Perſian court; but he finally preſumed to complain of the lieutenants of Juſtinian, who ſpared his

his enemies, and trampled on his allies. The truth was conſidered as a libel; and Gubazes, in conſequence of an ambiguous order from the Byzantine court, was ſtabbed in the ſecurity of a friendly interview.

After a variety of negociations and hoſtilities, Juſtinian and Choſroes concluded, in their declining age, a treaty, which for fifty years gave repoſe to their exhauſted frontiers; but the Perſian monarch, at the ſame time that he renounced the dangerous claim to the ſovereignty of Colchos, extorted from the Romans the annual payment of thirty thouſand pieces of gold; and the ſmallneſs of the ſum openly revealed the diſgrace of a tribute. But the power of the ſon of Cobades had increaſed with the weakneſs of Juſtinian; he had ſubdued the rebels of Hyrcania, reduced the province of Cabul and Zableſtan, on the banks of the Indus, broke the power of the Euthalites, and honourably terminated the Turkiſh war; and, according to the language of the Orientals, his empire extended from Ferganah in Tranſoxiana, to Arabia Felix.

Juſtinian, in his alliance with the Æthiopians, has been accuſed of introducing a people of ſavage negroes into civilized ſociety; but the olive complexion, hair, ſhape, and feature of the Abyſſinians, diſtinguiſh them from the original natives of Africa, and mark them as a colony of Arabs. They profeſſed the Chriſtian religion; had gleaned the rudiments of ſcience from Egypt; their veſſels traded to the iſle of Ceylon; and ſeven kingdoms obeyed the Negus, or chief prince of Abyſſinia. Juſtinian was flattered by the hope of di-

verting the ſilk trade through the channel of Abyſſinia, and of exciting the forces of Arabia againſt the Perſian king. But though the ambaſſador of the emperor was received with reſpect by the Negus, the propoſal of the ſilk trade was eluded, and the invaſion of Perſia evaporated in empty menaces. Inſtead of enlarging his conqueſts, the king of Æthiopia was incapable of defending his poſſeſſions; the Æthiopians were expelled from the continent of Aſia; and their defeat is connected with the fall of the Roman empire; ſince a Chriſtian power in Arabia muſt have cruſhed Mahomet in his cradle; and Abyſſinia would have prevented a revolution which has changed the ſtate of the civil and religious world.

CHAPTER XXX.

REBELLIONS OF AFRICA—RESTORATION OF THE GOTHIC KINGDOM BY TOTILA—LOSS AND RECOVERY OF ROME—FINAL CONQUEST OF ITALY BY NARSES—EXTINCTION OF THE OSTROGOTHS—DEFEAT OF THE FRANKS AND ALEMANNI—LAST VICTORY, DISGRACE, AND DEATH OF BELISARIUS—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF JUSTINIAN.

JUSTINIAN expected, from his new acquiſitions, to gratify his avarice, as well as pride. The victorious march of Beliſarius had been cloſely followed by a rapacious miniſter of the finances; and the emperor, who had heard the complaints of an oppreſſed people with indifference, was awakened by the clamours of military diſcontent. Many of the Roman ſoldiers had married the widows and daughters of the Vandals, and claimed by the right of conqueſt and inheritance, the eſtates which Genſeric had aſſigned to his victorious troops. The mutiny was inflamed by the Heruli, who had imbibed the doctrines of the Arian ſect, and beheld, with regret, the triumph of the orthodox church. Four hundred Vandals, deſtined by Beliſarius for the ſervice of the Eaſt, ſeized the veſſels they were embarked in, ran aſhore on a deſert coaſt of Africa, and erected the ſtandard of independence on Mount Auraſius. A furious ſedition, at the ſame time raged throughout Carthage. The life of Solomon was attempted; the city was pillaged; the governor, with ſeven compa-

nions, escaped to Sicily; and eight thousand insurgents, assembled in the field of Bulla, elected, as their chief, Stoza, a private soldier, of commanding eloquence and daring courage. Vanquished by Belisarius and the nephew of the emperor, he successfully employed the arts of negociation. A Roman army was seduced from their allegiance; the chiefs, who had trusted to his promises, were massacred by his order; and when he had exhausted every resource of force or perfidy, Stoza retired to the wilds of Mauritania, obtained the daughter of a Barbarian prince, and eluded the pursuit of his enemies by the report of his death: but as soon as the public disorders were again mature, Stoza appeared in arms at the gates of Carthage; and when he fell in single combat, he rejoiced that his own javelin had reached the heart of his antagonist. The example of Stoza inflamed the ambition of Gontharis; he privately negociated with the Moors, excited a sedition of the guards, in which the exarch Areobindus perished; and for thirty days ruled Carthage with absolute authority. He was stabbed, at the end of that term, by Artaban at a banquet; and the dagger of an Armenian prince restored Carthage to the Roman empire.

The victory of Mount Auras had awed the Moors into momentary submission; they respected the character of Solomon; but they hated and despised the pride and luxury of his two nephews, Cyrus and Sergius. The latter had perfidiously massacred, at his table, fourscore deputies of a Moorish tribe; the clamour of revenge was echoed through the vallies of Mount

Mount Atlas; the Moors were commanded by Antalas, who had formerly ſignalized his valour by a defeat of the Vandals. Solomon himſelf, as he advanced, was aſtoniſhed at the ſuperior numbers and fierce aſpect of the Barbarians. He propoſed a treaty, and offered to bind himſelf by the moſt ſolemn oaths. "By what oath can he bind himſelf?" interrupted the indignant Moors: "will he ſwear by the goſpels, "the divine books of the Chriſtians? It was on thoſe "books, that the faith of his nephew, Sergius, was "pledged to eighty of our innocent and unfortunate "brethren: before we truſt them a ſecond time, let "us try their efficacy in the chaſtiſement of perjury, "and the vindication of their own honour." Their honour was vindicated in the field of Tebeſte, by the death of Solomon, and the total loſs of his army. The inſolence of the victors was checked by the arrival of freſh troops; ſeventeen of their princes were ſlain in the ſame battle; but their ſucceſſive inroads ſoon curtailed the Roman dominion; the country was almoſt converted into a deſert; and Procopius aſſerts, that five millions of Africans were conſumed by the wars and government of Juſtinian.

The Goths had been defeated by the arms of Beliſarius; they had loſt their king, their capital, their provinces, and two hundred thouſand of their braveſt countrymen: but Pavia was ſtill defended by a thouſand valiant Goths: and theſe after a ſucceſſion of turbulent revolutions, elected Totila, a valiant youth, who reviewed the national force of five thouſand ſoldiers, and undertook the reſtoration of the kingdom

of Italy. Verona had been ſurpriſed by Artabazus, at the head of one hundred Perſians, in the ſervice of the empire; the Roman generals had halted about ſixty furlongs from the city, to regulate the diviſion of the ſpoil. The Goths, who had fled on the firſt aſſault, diſcovered the weakneſs of the victors; the Perſians were overwhelmed; and Artabazus, by leaping from a wall, preſerved a life, which he loſt, a few days afterwards, in ſingle combat with a Barbarian. Near Faenza, twenty thouſand Romans were defeated by Totila; who paſſed the Po, traverſed the Apennine, and marched through the heart of Italy to form the ſiege of Naples. [A. D. 541. 544.] The emperor diſpatched to the relief of that city, a fleet of gallies, and a body of Thracian and Armenian ſoldiers. Theſe landed in Sicily: but the ſuccours which the commander, an unwarlike magiſtrate of that iſland, tardily imparted, were intercepted by Totila; and Naples was compelled to ſurrender to the Goths; who, after reducing Lucania, Apulia, and Calabria, advanced to Tivoli, within twenty miles of Rome; and exhorted the ſenate and people to compare the miſeries of imperial tyranny, with the bleſſings of the Gothic reign.

During three years, from the departure of Beliſarius, Italy had been oppreſſed by the uniform vices of eleven chiefs; and the inhabitants of the country impatiently expected their deliverance from the virtues of a Barbarian. Totila was chaſte and temperate; and his friends and enemies equally had reaſon to depend on his faith and clemency. The fortifications of the ſtrong towns he demoliſhed, to ſave the people from the cala-

calamities of a future ſiege: and his diſcipline protected the huſbandman from the injuries of war. The Roman captives and deſerters were tempted to enliſt in the ſervice of a liberal and courteous adverſary; the ſlaves were attracted by the promiſe that they never ſhould be delivered to their maſters; and from the thouſand warriors of Pavia, a new people, under the appellation of Goths, was inſenſibly formed in the camp of Totila.

Such an antagoniſt was worthy the arms of Beliſarius; and the Gothic war was impoſed as a truſt, or an exile, on that veteran commander. [A. D. 544.] At the head of a ſmall band he entered the port of Ravenna, and diſpatched orders, rather than ſupplies, to the ſubordinate cities. But he ſoon diſcovered that the affections of the Italians were alienated from the empire; and that he was ſent to remain an impotent ſpectator of the glory of a young Barbarian. He repreſented to Juſtinian the exhauſted ſtate of the country, and the difficulties which ſurrounded him. "If "the war," ſaid he, "would be atchieved by the "preſence of Beliſarius alone, your wiſhes are ſatisfied; Beliſarius is in midſt of Italy; but if you "deſire to conquer, far other preparations are requiſite; without a military force, the title of general is "an empty name. It would be expedient to reſtore "to my ſervice my own veterans and domeſtic "guards. Before I can take the field, I muſt receive "an adequate ſupply of light and heavy armed troops; "and it is only with ready money that you can "procure the indiſpenſable aid of a powerful body of

" cavalry of the Huns." The meſſage of Beliſarius was neglected; and the Roman general repaſſed the Hadriatic, and expected at Dyrrachium the arrival of the troops, which ſlowly aſſembled; even theſe were inadequate to the deliverance of Rome. The Appian way was covered by the Barbarians; the prudence of Beliſarius declined a battle; and he preferred the ſafe navigation from the coaſt of Epirus to the mouth of the Tyber.

Rome was guarded by the valour, and afflicted by the avarice of Beſſas, a veteran chief of Gothic extraction, who defended her walls with three thouſand ſoldiers, and extracted a profitable trade from the continuance of the ſiege. The city had already endured the calamities of famine, when the hopes of the people were revived by the aſſurance that Beliſarius was landed at the *port*. That intrepid general, while his cavalry advanced along the public road to awe the enemy, embarked his infantry and proviſions in large boats, and burſt the iron chain, and deſtroyed the barrier, which Totila had erected to intercept the navigation of the Tyber. The triumphant Romans ſhouted victory, and Rome had been preſerved, if the wiſdom of Beliſarius had not been defeated by the miſconduct of his officers. He had previouſly commanded Beſſas to ſally from the city; and had fixed his lieutenant Iſaac, by a peremptory order, to the port; but avarice rendered Beſſas immoveable, and the youthful ardour of Iſaac delivered him into the hands of a ſuperior enemy. The news of his defeat was haſtily carried to Beliſarius; he pauſed, and reluctantly ſounded a re-

treat to ſave the only harbour he poſſeſſed on the Tuſcan coaſt. The agitation of his mind was attended by a dangerous fever, and Rome was left without ſupport to the mercy or indignation of Totila.

Famine had relaxed the ſtrength and diſcipline of the garriſon; four Iſaurian centinels betrayed the Aſinarian gate to the Gothic king. [A. D. 546. Dec. 17.] Beſſas and his ſoldiers eſcaped by flight, and the principal inhabitants accompanied their governor. At the humble prayer of Pelagius, the archdeacon, the lives of the Romans were ſpared, and the chaſtity of the women preſerved from the paſſions of the ſoldiers. But the moſt precious ſpoils of Rome were reſerved for the Gothic treaſury, and the reſt was abandoned to the free pillage of the ſoldiers. One third of the city walls was thrown down by the ſtern command of Totila; and the prudent remonſtrance of Beliſarius alone, who warned the Gothic monarch not to ſully his fame by the deſtruction of thoſe monuments which were the glory of the dead, and the delight of the living, averted the fatal decree of the Barbarian, that Rome ſhould be changed into a paſture for cattle. After ſtationing an army in the neighbourhood of the city, to obſerve the motions of Beliſarius, Totila, with the remainder of his forces, marched into Lucania and Apulia, and occupied one of the camps of Hannibal, on the ſummit of Mount Garganus.

On the departure of Totila, Beliſarius ſallied from the port at the head of a thouſand horſe, cut in pieces the enemy who oppoſed his progreſs, entered the ancient city, and erected his ſtandard on the capitol. [A.D. 547.]

The

The greateſt part of his troops were ſummoned to his ſupport, the inhabitants were recalled by the love of their country, the walls were reſtored with rude materials, and the keys of Rome were ſent, a ſecond time, to Juſtinian. At the expiration of twenty-five days the Gothic king returned, eager for revenge; but his troops, in three general aſſaults, were repulſed by the firmneſs and ſkill of Beliſarius; and the fame of Totila, ſunk as it had riſen, with the fortune of his arms. It remained for the emperor, by powerful efforts, to ſecond the abilities of his lieutenant; but Beliſarius, after a long ſilence, was commanded to leave a garriſon in Rome, and to march to ſuppreſs the revolt of Lucania; without treaſures or troops he was abandoned to an inglorious warfare, till Antonina obtained, after the death of the empreſs, the permiſſion of his return.

The dagger of conſpiracy menaced the life which had eſcaped the ſword of the Barbarians. [A. D. 488.] Artaban, who had chaſtiſed the African tyrant, aſpired to Præjecta, the emperor's niece; his pride was hurt by a refuſal; the death of Juſtinian was reſolved on; but the conſpirators delayed the execution till they could alſo ſurpriſe Beliſarius. The interval of delay produced a confeſſion of the conſpiracy. Artaban and his accomplices were condemned by the ſenate; but the clemency of Juſtinian pardoned, after a gentle confinement, their flagitious deſigns; and Beliſarius, endeared to him by former ſervices, and their common danger, was elevated to the high rank of general of the eaſt, and count of the domeſtics. His only daughter Joannina was betrothed to Anaſtaſius, the nephew of

of the empreſs, whoſe interpoſition forwarded the conſummation of their youthful loves; but on the death of Theodora, the reſentment of Antonina ſacrificed the happineſs and honour of her daughter, and diſſolved the imperfect nuptials before they had been ratified by the ceremonies of the church.

On the departure of Beliſarius, Totila once more formed the ſiege of Rome, and the inhabitants were again betrayed by the venality of ſome Iſaurians. The gate of St. Paul was opened, the Barbarians poured into the city, and the flying garriſon was intercepted before they could reach the harbour of Centumcellæ. [A. D. 549.] But Totila no longer entertained a wiſh of deſtroying the edifices of Rome, which he now reſpected as the ſeat of his Gothic kingdom. From the capital he extended his conqueſts over Sicily, Sardinia, and Corſica; and the ſea coaſt of Greece was ravaged by a fleet of three hundred gallies; yet amidſt his victories, the Barbarian repeated his deſire of peace, and offered to employ the Gothic arms in the ſervice of the empire.

Juſtinian was again aroufed to the conqueſt of Italy by the adjurations of pope Vigilius. A fleet and army for the relief of Sicily was entruſted to the valour and gratitude of the conſpirator Artaban. But the command of the principal force was reſerved for Germanus, the emperor's nephew, whoſe rank and merit had long been depreſſed by the jealouſy of the court. His promotion revived the affection of the Italians, and engaged the veterans in the voluntary ſervice of the empire. But the deſigns of Germanus were terminated

nated by his ſpeedy malady and death; yet his very name had given energy to the Italian war. Ancona, Crotona, and Centumcellæ reſiſted the aſſaults of Totila. Sicily was reduced by Artaban, and the Gothic navy was defeated near the coaſt of the Hadriatic.

On the death of Germanus, the command of the Roman armies was given to the eunuch Narſes, whoſe fame has contributed to reſcue that unhappy name from the contempt of mankind. In the palace, Narſes had ſtudied to diſſemble, flatter, and to perſuade; and as ſoon as he approached the perſon of the emperor, Juſtinian liſtened with ſurpriſe and pleaſure to the manly counſels of his chamberlain and treaſurer. He led an army into Italy, acquired a practical knowledge of the war and the country, and twelve years after his return, the eunuch was choſen to atchieve the conqueſt which the firſt of Roman generals had left imperfect. The well known liberality of Narſes attracted the ſubjects and allies of the empire. The Lombards, the Heruli, the Huns, and the Perſians, crowded to his banner; the various army advanced along the ſea ſhore, while the fleet preceded their march, and caſt a bridge of boats over the mouths of the rivers, the Timavus, the Brenta, the Adige, and the Po, that fall into the Hadriatic to the north of Ravenna. From thence, after collecting the fragments of the Italian army, Narſes proceeded to Rimini to meet the inſulting enemy.

Totila, ſuſpicious of the fidelity of his ſubjects, determined to riſk the Gothic kingdom on a deciſive battle. The two armies approached each other near Tagina.

Tagina. The haughty meſſage of Narſes was an offer not of peace, but of pardon; the anſwer of the Gothic king declared his reſolution to die or conquer. From his ſtation on the right wing, the eunuch rode along the line, expreſſing by his countenance the aſſurance of victory, and exciting his men by expoſing to their view gold chains and collars, the rewards of military virtue. At the diſtance of two bow ſhots, the armies ſpent the morning in dreadful ſuſpenſe; Narſes awaited the charge, and Totila delayed it till he had received his laſt ſuccours of two thouſand Goths. As ſoon as theſe arrived, the Gothic king retired to his tent, laid his rich armour aſide for that of a common ſoldier, and gave the ſignal of battle. [A. D. 552.] The Gothic cavalry was aſtoniſhed, preſſed, and broken by the generous emulation of the Romans and their Barbarian allies; ſix thouſand of the Goths fell on the field. Their Prince, with five attendants, was overtaken by Aſbad, of the race of the Gepidæ. "Spare the king of Italy," cried a loyal voice, and Aſbad ſtruck his lance through the body of Totila. The blow was inſtantly revenged by the faithful Goths; they tranſported their dying monarch ſeven miles from the ſcene of action, and his laſt hours were not embittered by the preſence of an enemy. His corpſe ſatisfied the Romans of their victory; and his bloody robe was preſented to Juſtinian by the meſſengers of triumph.

The victorious eunuch, after diſmiſſing the Lombards, purſued his march through Tuſcany, and encompaſſed with his hoſt the walls of Rome. Theſe could not long withſtand his ardour, and Juſtinian once

once more received the keys of the ancient capital, which, under his reign, had been five times taken and recovered. But the flying Goths ſatiated their revenge by the maſſacre of three hundred noble youths, their hoſtages; the fortreſſes round Campania were ſtained with patrician blood; and the very exiſtence of the Roman ſenate was extinguiſhed by the implacable fury of the Barbarians.

The braveſt of the Gothic nation retired beyond the Po, and unanimouſly choſe Teias to ſucceed the gallant Totila. The new king ſent ambaſſadors to purchaſe the aid of the Franks with the riches of Pavia. His brother Aligern, with the reſidue of the royal treaſure, was beſieged at Cumæ, in Campania, by the army of Narſes. Teias by rapid marches advanced to his relief. He eluded the vigilance of the Roman chiefs, pitched his camp on the banks of the Sarnus, and for ſixty days maintained that important poſt. Deſerted by their fleet, and the hope of ſubſiſtence, the Goths embraced the generous reſolution to die in arms, and in the poſſeſſion of freedom; the king marched at their head; after a combat of many hours, in which he diſplayed an honourable but ineffectual valour, he was pierced by a mortal dart; but his fate ſerved only to animate his companions. During the night they repoſed on their arms, and renewed the combat with the dawn of day. The fatigues of a ſecond night, with the want of water, diſpoſed the ſurvivors to accept the alternative of Narſes; to reſide in Italy as the ſubjects of Juſtinian, or to depart with a portion of their private wealth in ſearch of ſome independent country; yet the capitu-

capitulation was rejected by one thouſand Goths, who broke through their enemies, and effected their retreat to Pavia; and Aligern, with undaunted courage, defended Cumæ above a year; nor did he ſubmit to become the friend of Narſes, till the ſucceſs of a mine had buried his brave aſſociates in the ruins of the rock.

While the Romans ſucceſsfully preſſed the ſiege of Lucca, Italy was overwhelmed by a new deluge of Barbarians. Theodebald, a feeble youth, the grandſon of Clovis, reigned over the Franks; his guardians had entertained with coldneſs the promiſes of the Gothic ambaſſadors; but the martial people crowded to the ſtandards of the two brothers, Lothaire and Buccelin, dukes of the Alemanni, and the leaders of the Italian war. Seventy-five thouſand Germans deſcended from the Rhætian Alps into the plains of Milan; they ſurpriſed the negligent vanguard of the Roman army ſtationed near the Po; the troops were inſtantly routed, and their leader, Fulcaris, a bold Herulian, rejecting flight, declared that death was leſs terrible than the angry countenance of Narſes. The conqueror of Italy opened a free paſſage to the torrent; but two thouſand Franks were deſtroyed by Narſes in perſon, who ſallied from Rimini with three hundred horſe to chaſtiſe the licentious rapine of their march. On the confines of Samnium the two brothers divided their forces; Buccelin aſſumed the ſpoil of Campania, Lucania, and Bruttium, while Lothaire plundered Apulia and Calabria; but the ſtrength of their armies was ſoon waſted by diſeaſe,

eaſe, and the intemperance of the Germans avenged the miſeries of the defenceleſs people.

In the ſpring Buccelin moved towards Capua, and encamped near the Vulturnus. He impatiently expected the return of his brother Lothaire, who had retired beyond the Alps to ſecure his booty; but alas! that brother could never return; a ſtrange diſeaſe had ſwept away the chief and his army, on the banks of the lake Benacus, between Trent and Verona. Narſes, at the head of eighteen thouſand ſoldiers, ſoon approached the Vulturnus, and the eyes of Italy were anxiouſly fixed on this final conteſt. On the morning of the important day, a ſervant was killed by his maſter, one of the leaders of the Heruli. The juſtice of Narſes commanded the inſtant execution of the offender; the Heruli felt the indignity; they halted; but the Roman general, without ſoothing their rage, called aloud, that unleſs they haſtened to occupy their place, they would loſe the honour of the victory. The ranks of the Franks and Alemanni were already diſordered by the fatal arrows of the Roman archers; and the Heruli, preferring glory to revenge, charged in the deciſive moment the head of the hoſtile column. Buccelin, and the greateſt part of his army, periſhed on the field of battle, or in the waters of the Vulturnus; and in the proceſſion of Narſes, Rome, for the laſt time, beheld the ſemblance of a triumph. That ancient capital was ſoon after degraded to the ſecond rank, and the exarchs of Ravenna, as the repreſentatives of the emperor, filled the throne of the Gothic kings.

The

The declining years of Beliſarius were crowned by a laſt victory, which ſaved the emperor and the capital. In the thirty-ſecond winter of Juſtinian's reign, Zabergan led the cavalry of the Bulgarians over the frozen Danube; the ſavage chief ſpread his troops over Macedonia and Thrace, and with ſeven thouſand horſe advanced towards Conſtantinople. [A. D. 559.] The walls which defended that territory had lately been ſhaken by an earthquake; the forces of the empire were employed on the diſtant frontiers of Italy, Africa, and Perſia; Juſtinian trembled in his palace; and a feeble veteran was the ſole hope and dependance of the prince and people. The name of Beliſarius rouſed the emulation of the old and young; and at the head of ten thouſand undiſciplined citizens, his firſt encampment was in the preſence of a victorious enemy. The Bulgarian cavalry advanced to the charge; but they heard the ſhouts of multitudes; they beheld the arms and diſcipline of the front; two ambuſcades from the woods aſſaulted their flanks; their foremoſt warriors fell by the hands of the aged hero and his guards; and Zabergan confeſſed the ſkill of a maſter, and withdrew to a reſpectful diſtance. The commands of Juſtinian forbade Beliſarius to atchieve the deſtruction of the enemy; and the departure of Zabergan was haſtened by the report that veſſels were built on the Danube to intercept his paſſage.

Two years afterwards, an indiſpoſition of the emperor encouraged the growing diſcontent of his ſubjects. [A. D. 561.] A dark conſpiracy was detected, in which are recorded the names of Marcellus and Ser-

gius. The former withdrew himself by a voluntary death; but Sergius was dragged from a sanctuary, and tempted, perhaps, by the hopes of safety, accused two officers of the household of Belisarius. It will not be credited by posterity, that the hero who in the vigour of life had rejected the fairest offers of ambition, should in the extreme of age be induced to renounce his loyalty. The conqueror of Africa appeared before the council with less fear than indignation; but the emperor, after forty years service, had prejudged his guilt. His fortune was sequestered, and for several months he was guarded as a prisoner in his own palace. At length his innocence was acknowledged; and his death, hastened probably by indignation, about eight months afterwards, delivered him from the ingratitude of his master. Some portion of his treasures was allotted for the maintenance of Antonina, who devoted the remains of her life and fortune to the foundation of a convent. Such was the fate of Belisarius. That he was deprived of his eyes, and reduced to beg his bread, is a fiction of later times, and apparently derived from the miscellaneous work of John Tzetzes, a monk of the twelfth century.

In eight months after the death of Belisarius, Justinian closed a reign of thirty-eight, and a life of eighty-three years; and though his fame is eclipsed by the superior lustre of his general, yet the review of the Roman jurisprudence is a noble monument of his spirit and industry. Even his enemies confess that he was chaste, temperate, vigilant, and studious. His design of the African and Italian wars, was boldly

conceived and executed; and his penetration diſcovered the talents of Beliſarius in the camp, and of Narſes in the palace. But the age in which he reigned was unfortunate; the people was oppreſſed and diſcontented; the avarice of Theodora, and of John of Cappadocia, ſullied his virtues; and Juſtinian was neither beloved in his life, nor regretted at his death.

In the fifth year of his reign, a comet, which appeared in the weſtern quarter of the heavens, excited the apprehenſions of a ſuperſtitious people. Each year, during his adminiſtration, was marked by the repetition of earthquakes; and thoſe of ſuch duration, that Conſtantinople has been ſhaken above forty days; and of ſuch extent, that the ſhock has been communicated to the whole ſurface of the Roman empire; and to the calamities produced by theſe concuſſions, is to be added a plague, which baffled the art of the phyſicians of Conſtantinople, and alternately languiſhed and revived during a period of fifty-two years. So great was the devaſtation, that in many diſtricts of Italy, the harveſt and the vintage withered on the ground; and the ſubjects of Juſtinian were almoſt inceſſantly afflicted by the ravages of war, peſtilence, and famine.

CHAPTER XXXI.

IDEA OF THE ROMAN JURISPRUDENCE—THE LAWS OF THE KINGS—THE TWELVE TABLES OF THE DECEMVIRS—THE LAWS OF THE PEOPLE—THE DECREES OF THE SENATE—THE EDICTS OF THE MAGISTRATES AND EMPERORS—AUTHORITY OF THE CIVILIANS—CODE, PANDECTS, NOVELS, AND INSTITUTES OF JUSTINIAN—I. RIGHTS OF PERSONS—II. RIGHTS OF THINGS—III. PRIVATE INJURIES AND ACTIONS—IV. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

BY the care of Juſtinian, the civil juriſprudence was digeſted in the immortal works of the CODE, the PANDECTS, and the INSTITUTES; the domeſtic inſtitutions of Europe acknowledge the public reaſon of the Romans, and the laws of Juſtinian ſtill command the reſpect or obedience of independent nations. In this chapter will be traced the Roman juriſprudence from Romulus to Juſtinian; the labours of that prince will be reviewed, and the principles of a ſcience, ſo important to the peace and happineſs of ſociety, will be briefly conſidered.

The primitive government of Rome was compoſed of an elective king, a council of nobles, and a general aſſembly of the people. War and religion were adminiſtered by the ſupreme magiſtrate; he alone propoſed the laws, which were debated in the ſenate, and were afterwards ratified or rejected by a majority of votes in the thirty curiæ, or pariſhes of the city. The royal laws

laws aſcribed to ſucceſſive monarchs became obſolete, when on the expulſion of Tarquin, the kingly office was aboliſhed, and the patricians engroſſed the benefits of freedom; yet the inſtitutions of the kings blended themſelves with the public and private manners of the people, though the citizens of Rome complained they were ruled by the arbitrary ſentence of the magiſtrates. The twelve tables of the Decemvirs were dictated by the rigid ſpirit of an ariſtocracy; and whatever might be their merit, they obtained among the Romans that reverence which the lawyers of every country delight to beſtow on their municipal inſtitutions; they were tranſcribed and illuſtrated with learned diligence; ſubſiſted in the age of Juſtinian; and their ſubſequent loſs has been imperfectly reſtored by the labours of modern critics. But although theſe tables were conſidered as the fountain of juſtice, they were overwhelmed by the weight of new laws, which, at the end of five centuries, became a grievance intolerable to the city.

The tables of the Decemvirs had been approved by an aſſembly of the centuries, in which riches preponderated againſt numbers. To the firſt claſs of Romans, proprietors of one hundred thouſand pounds of copper, ninety-eight votes were aſſigned; and only ninety-five were left for the ſix inferior claſſes; but the tribunes ſoon eſtabliſhed a more popular maxim, that every citizen has an equal right to enact the laws, which he is bound to obey. Inſtead of the *centuries*, they convened the *tribes*; and the patricians ſubmitted to the decrees of an aſſembly, in which their votes were confounded

with thoſe of the meaneſt plebeians. A ſubſequent regulation, by ſubſtituting the method of ſecret ballot, aboliſhed the influence of fear and ſhame; even Auguſtus once experienced a ſincere and ſtrenuous oppoſition; and the example inſtructed his ſucceſſor to extinguiſh the danger and exiſtence of popular aſſemblies: the legiſlative authority was transferred from the people to the ſenate; and it muſt be acknowledged, that the decrees of that aſſembly, under the Cæſars, were ſeldom perverted by fear or intereſt.

The ambiguity of laws was ſupplied by the occaſional EDICTS of thoſe magiſtrates, inveſted with the *honours* of the ſtate. This ancient prerogative of the kings, was entruſted to the conſuls and dictators, the cenſors, and prætors. The ſupreme judge announced by the voice of the cryer, and afterwards inſcribed on a white wall, the rules which he propoſed to follow in the deciſion of doubtful caſes; and the relief which his equity would afford from the rigour of ancient ſtatutes. A juriſdiction, thus vague and arbitrary, was expoſed to the moſt dangerous abuſe; and the policy of Hadrian accompliſhed the deſign which had been conceived by Cæſar. In the prætorſhip of Salvius Julian, an eminent lawyer, a PERPETUAL EDICT was compoſed, ratified by the emperor and the ſenate, and was fixed, inſtead of the twelve tables, as the invariable ſtandard of civil juriſprudence.

During four centuries, from Hadrian to Juſtinian, the public and private juriſprudence was moulded by the will of the ſovereign, whoſe royal mandates were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *conſtitutions*. Though

reaſon

reaſon will ſuggeſt to the abſolute maſter of a great empire, that the intereſt of ſociety is inſeparably connected with his own, yet in the *reſcripts*, replies to the conſultations of the magiſtrates, the wiſeſt of princes might be deceived by a partial expoſition of the caſe. The *reſcripts* of the emperor, his *grants* and *decrees*, his *edicts* and *pragmatic ſanctions*, were ſubſcribed in purple ink, and tranſmitted to the provinces as general laws, which the magiſtrates were bound to execute; but as their number multiplied, they became each day more obſcure, till the will of the ſovereign was aſcertained in the Gregorian, the Hermogenian, and Theodoſian codes; the two firſt were framed by private lawyers, to preſerve the conſtitutions of the emperors from Hadrian to Conſtantine; the third was digeſted by the order of the younger Theodoſius, and was continued down to his own acceſſion; all three obtained an equal authority; and any act not included in the ſacred depoſit, might be diſregarded by the judge as ſpurious.

The juriſprudence of the firſt Romans exhibited the ſcenes of a pantomime; the words were adapted to the geſtures; and the ſlighteſt error in the *forms* of proceeding, was ſufficient to annul the *ſubſtance* of the faireſt claim. In a more enlightened age, theſe forms were derided, and a more liberal art was cultivated; and in the ſeventh century, Roman juriſprudence was improved by the alliance of Grecian philoſophy. From the Stoics, the Roman civilians learned to live, to reaſon, and to die; but they imbibed, in ſome degree, the prejudices of the ſect; the love of paradox, the

habits of diſpute, and a minute attachment to words and verbal diſtinctions.

Arms, eloquence, and the ſtudy of the civil law, promoted a citizen to the honours of the Roman ſtate; and the three profeſſions were ſometimes united in the ſame character. Under the fair pretence of ſecuring the dignity of the civil law, Auguſtus and Tiberius confined the privilege of ſubſcribing legal opinions to the ſenatorian, or equeſtrian rank. This monopoly prevailed, till Hadrian reſtored the freedom of the profeſſion to every citizen conſcious of his abilities and knowledge: but the judges were frequently perplexed by the different opinions of the civilians; and Roman juriſprudence was divided by the once famous ſects of the *Proculians* and *Sabinians*. By the perpetual edict, the controverſies of theſe ſects were in a great meaſure determined. For that important work, the emperor Hadrian preferred the chief of the Sabinians; but the moderation of Salvius Julian inſenſibly reconciled the diſcordant parties. The lawyers of the age of the Antonines diſclaimed the authority of a maſter, and adopted, from every ſyſtem, the moſt probable doctrines: but their numerous writings confuſed the judge, and every ſentence was juſtified by the ſanction of ſome venerable name.

When Juſtinian aſcended the throne, the reformation of the Roman juriſprudence was an arduous, but indiſpenſable taſk. He ſelected the moſt learned civilians of the Eaſt to aſſiſt in the work; to their theory was added the practice of the advocates, and the experience of the magiſtrates; and the whole undertaking

taking was animated by the ſpirit of the celebrated Tribonian, whoſe genius, like that of Bacon, embraced all the buſineſs and knowledge of the age; but whoſe virtues and abilities, like thoſe of Bacon, were ſtained with the reproach of abject flattery and inſatiate avarice.

In the firſt year of his reign, Juſtinian directed Tribonian, and his aſſociates, to reviſe the Gregorian, Hermogenian, and Theodoſian codes; to retrench whatever was obſolete or ſuperfluous, and to ſelect the ſalutary laws beſt adapted to the practice of the tribunals, and the uſe of his ſubjects. In fourteen months this work was accompliſhed. The new *code* of Juſtinian was honoured with his name, confirmed by his royal ſignature, and was tranſmitted to the magiſtrates of the European, the Aſiatic, and afterwards the African provinces. A more arduous operation was ſtill behind; to extract the ſpirit of juriſprudence from the deciſions and diſputes of the Roman civilians. This taſk was aſſigned to ſeventeen lawyers, with Tribonian at their head; in three years, the *digeſts, or pandects*, were compoſed by their rapid diligence; and three millions of ſentences were reduced, in this abſtract, to the moderate number of one hundred and fifty thouſand. The edition of this great work was delayed a month after that of the INSTITUTES; and it ſeemed reaſonable, that the elements ſhould precede the digeſt of the Roman law. The emperor approved, and ratified the labours of theſe private citizens; the *code*, the *pandects*, and the *inſtitutes*, were declared to be the legitimate ſyſtem of civil juriſprudence; they alone

alone were admitted in the tribunals; and they alone were taught in the academies of Rome and Conſtantinople.

Six years had not elapſed from the publication of the code, before Juſtinian condemned the imperfect attempt, by a new and more accurate edition of the ſame work; which he enriched with two hundred of his own laws, and fifty deciſions of the moſt intricate points of juriſprudence. His long reign was marked by annual legal innovations. Many of his acts were reſcinded by himſelf; many were rejected by his ſucceſſors; many have been obliterated by time; but the number of ſixteen EDICTS, and one hundred and ſixty-eight NOVELS, has been admitted into the authentic body of the civil juriſprudence. In the opinion of Monteſquieu, theſe inceſſant alterations can only be explained by the venal ſpirit of a prince, who ſold his judgment and his laws; and the advocates of Juſtinian muſt confeſs, that ſuch levity, even if he ſtands acquitted of corruption, is unworthy of the character of a legiſlator.

The INSTITUTES of Juſtinian were derived from thoſe of Caius, who died before the end of the ſecond century, and are divided into four books, ſtill precious to the hiſtorian, the philoſopher, and the magiſtrate.—They proceed, with no contemptible method, I. *perſons*, to II. *things*; and from things, to III. *actions*; and the article IV. of *private wrongs*, is terminated by the principles of *criminal law*.

I. The proud diſtinctions of the republic were gradually aboliſhed in the decline of the Roman empire; and

and Juſtinian completed the ſimple form of an abſolute monarchy. His laws regarded, as equal, all Roman citizens; and all ſubjects of the empire were citizens of Rome. The Cæſars had ſcrupulouſly guarded the diſtinctions of *ingenuous* and *ſervile* birth; and the ſlaves, who were liberated by a generous maſter, could never be enfranchiſed from the duties of obedience and gratitude. Their patron, and his family, inherited a third part of whatever they might acquire; and even the whole of their fortune, if they died without children and without teſtament. Juſtinian reſpected the right of patrons; but the dignity of ingenuous birth was beſtowed by the emperor; and whoever ceaſed to be a ſlave, obtained without delay the ſtation of a citizen.

The Roman juriſprudence aſſigned to the father an excluſive, abſolute, and perpetual dominion over his children. In the forum, the ſenate, and the camp, the adult ſon of a Roman citizen enjoyed the public and private rights of a *perſon;* in his father's houſe he was a mere *thing*, ſubject to the caprice, or injuſtice of his parent: but the paternal power was gradually limited from the acceſſion of Numa; and the Roman father, in the reign of Auguſtus, was reduced from abſolute dominion, to the moderation of a judge. In the reign of Severus Alexander, this juriſdiction was again curtailed; and the magiſtrates were enjoined to hear his complaints, and to execute his ſentence. The juſtice of Conſtantine inflicted, on the parent who murdered his child, the pains of parricide; and the puniſhment was extended to him who expoſed or abandoned his

his new-born infant. Theſe murders were included by Valentinian, in the ſpirit of the Cornelian law; and the leſſons of juriſprudence and Chriſtianity were enforced by the terrors of capital puniſhment.

The wife, by the ancient laws of Rome, was ſubject to her huſband, who was inveſted with the plenitude of paternal power. He exerciſed the juriſdiction of life and death; and it was allowed, that in the caſes of adultery, or drunkenneſs, the ſentence might be properly inflicted: but the matrons of Rome, after the Punic triumphs, aſpired to, and obtained the benefits of a free and opulent republic. The degrading ſolemnities of the old nuptials were neglected; their perſons were free, and their property was protected. To a looſe and voluntary compact, which preſerved the fortune of the wife, but in which religious rites were unneceſſary, ſucceeded the dignity of marriage, reſtored by the Chriſtians. The conſcience of theſe was awed by the cenſures of their eccleſiaſtical rulers; but the emperor, in his code and pandects, conſulted the unbelieving civilians; and his matrimonial laws are influenced by the earthly motives of juſtice, policy, and the natural freedom of both ſexes.

When the Roman matrons became the voluntary companions of their lords, the laws allowed that marriage might be diſſolved by the abdication of one of the parties. In three centuries of proſperity and corruption, this principle was enlarged to frequent practice and pernicious abuſe. The gentle remedies of Auguſtus might moderate the violence of the diſeaſe, but the Chriſtian princes were the firſt who ſpecified the juſt

juſt cauſes of a private divorce; their inſtitutions, from Conſtantine to Juſtinian, appear to fluctuate between the cuſtom of the empire, and the wiſhes of the church. Incurable impotence, long abſence, and monaſtic profeſſion, were allowed to reſcind the matrimonial vow; and the ſucceſſor of Juſtinian, yielding to the prayers of his unhappy ſubjects, reſtored the liberty of divorce by mutual conſent.

The lawgivers of Rome inflexibly condemned the marriage of ſiſters and brothers; heſitated whether firſt couſins ought not alſo to be interdicted; and, according to the proud maxims of the republic, affirmed, that a legal union could only be contracted by free citizens. To a woman of ſervile, and plebeian extraction, the faithful companion of a Roman citizen, who continued in a ſtate of celibacy, the name of concubine was appropriated. Her modeſt ſtation, below the honours of a wife, above the infamy of a proſtitute, was acknowledged and approved by the laws. The celebration of her nuptials, with the partner of her bed, would legitimate her children; theſe were capable of ſucceeding to the ſixth part of the inheritance of their reputed father, and were diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of *natural*, from the ſpurious brood of adultery, proſtitution, and inceſt, to whom Juſtinian reluctantly grants the neceſſary ſupport of life.

The relation of guardian and ward is of a very ſimple nature. If the deceaſed father had not ſignified his choice for the orphan, the paternal kindred of the neareſt degree were compelled to act as the natural guardians; and the Roman juriſprudence pronounced, that

that the charge of tutelage ſhould attend the emolument of ſucceſſion; the failure of conſanguinity was ſupplied by the nomination of the prætor of the city, or the preſident of the province. Till the infant could ſpeak and think, he was repreſented by the tutor, whoſe authority was finally determined by the age of puberty; this had been fixed by the civilians at fourteen; but in whatever regarded the fortune of the minor, the conſent of the *curator* was neceſſary to give validity to his acts, till he accompliſhed the full period of twenty-five years.

The original right of property was eſtabliſhed by the civilians on the merit of prior occupancy. According to the twelve tables, a preſcription of one year for moveables, and two years for immoveables, aboliſhed the claim of the ancient maſter, if the actual poſſeſſor had acquired them by a fair tranſaction from the perſon whom he believed to be the lawful proprietor.—This term was extended by Juſtinian to the various periods of three, ten, and twenty years. In the right of inheritance, the maſculine and female lines of kindred were confounded. The deſcending, aſcending, and collateral ſeries was accurately defined; and each degree, according to the proximity of blood and affection, ſucceeded to the vacant poſſeſſions of a Roman citizen.

The order of ſucceſſion was frequently violated by the arbitrary and partial *wills* of the teſtator. A parent might capriciouſly prefer a ſtranger, and diſappoint his ſon of his inheritance. Examples of unnatural diſpoſitions recommended ſome limitation of the teſtamentary powers. By the laws of Juſtinian, to diſinherit a ſon,

a ſon, or daughter, it was neceſſary to ſpecify the offence committed; and the juſtice of the emperor enumerated the ſole cauſes that could juſtify ſuch a violation of the firſt principles of nature and ſociety. Unleſs a fourth had been reſerved for the children, they had a right to inſtitute an action; to complain that their father's underſtanding was impaired by ſickneſs, or age; and to appeal, from his rigorous ſentence, to the deliberate wiſdom of the magiſtrate. But an eſſential diſtinction was admitted between the inheritance and the legacies. The heirs who ſucceeded to the entire, or to the twelfth fraction of the ſubſtance of a teſtator, fulfilled his obligations, and diſcharged the gifts, which his laſt will had bequeathed, under the name of legacies: but as the imprudence of a dying man might exhauſt the inheritance, and only leave riſk to his ſucceſſor, he was empowered to retain the *falcidian* portion; to deduct, before the payment of the legacies, a clear fourth for his own emolument. A reaſonable time was allowed to examine between the debts and the eſtate; and if he uſed the benefit of an inventory, the demands of the creditors could not exceed the valuation of the effects.

III. The general duties of mankind are impoſed by their public, or private relations; but their ſpecific *obligations* to each other, can only be the effect of 1. a promiſe; 2. a benefit; or 3. an injury; and when the obligations are ratified by law, the intereſted party may compel the performance by a judicial *action*. On this principle, the civilians of every country have treated a ſimilar

similar jurisprudence, the fair conclusion of universal reason and justice.

1. Among the Romans, according to the rigid maxims of the patricians and decemvirs, a promise, or even an oath, did not create any civil obligation, unless it was confirmed by the legal form of a stipulation; this was always expressed in the mode of a question and answer. Do you promise to pay me one hundred pieces of gold? was the solemn interrogation of Sius. I do promise, was the reply of Sempronius; and the friends of Sempronius, who answered for his inclination or ability, might be separately sued at the option of Sius. The ingenuity of the civilians successfully laboured to convert simple engagements into the form of stipulations; and the prætors, as guardians of social faith, gave an action and remedy on the rational evidence of an equitable obligation.

2. A grateful return is due to the author of a benefit; and whoever is entrusted with the property of another, has bound himself to the sacred duty of restitution. The Roman words *commodatum* and *mutuum*, happily express what our language confounds, under the common appellation of a loan. In the former, the borrower was obliged to restore the individual thing which he had received for his temporary accommodation. In the latter he substituted the specific value of what was destined for his use and consumption. In a *sale*, the absolute dominion is transferred to the purchaser, who repays the benefit by an adequate sum of gold or silver. By *location*, lands or houses, labours

or

or talents, might be hired for a definite term; at the expiration of the time, the thing itſelf muſt be reſtored, with an additional reward, for the benefit ariſing from the occupation of it. Uſury had been diſcouraged by the twelve tables; but it was tolerated by the diſcretion of the prætors, and finally determined by the code of Juſtinian. Perſons of illuſtrious rank were confined to the profit of four per cent; ſix was fixed as the common intereſt; eight was allowed in merchandize; and twelve was granted to nautical inſurance.

3. The ſufferer by private injuſtice naturally claims the reparation of his injury, and acquires a right to a legitimate action. A Roman might recover his ſtolen goods by an action of theft; and a preſcription of thirty years was required to extinguiſh his claim. The robber was condemned in double, treble, and quadruple damages, according to the mode of his detection. Haſty inſults, which did not amount to the fracture of a limb, had been fixed by the decemvirs, at a trifling indiſcriminate fine. But the prætors examined the nature of the injury; and the magiſtrates, in their deciſions, conſidered the circumſtances which might aggravate the ſufferings of the injured perſon.

The various puniſhments of the Romans were ſevere, and even inhuman. Common crimes were chaſtiſed by flagellation and ſervitude, and nine were adjudged worthy of death. 1. Any act of treaſon againſt the ſtate, or correſpondence with the public enemy. 2. Nocturnal meetings in the city, for whatever purpoſe. 3. The murder of a citizen. 4. The

malice of an incendiary, who himself was delivered to the flames. 5. Judicial perjury. 6. The corruption of a judge, who pronounced a venal and iniquitous sentence. 7. Libels and satires. 8. The nocturnal damage of a neighbour's corn. 9. Magical incantations. But the cruelty of the twelve tables against insolvent debtors awakens our indignation; after thirty days grace, the Roman was delivered into the power of his fellow citizen; his food was twelve ounces of rice; he was bound with a chain of fifteen pounds weight; and at the end of sixty days, the debt was discharged by his slavery, or death. This criminal law was abolished by the Porcian and Valerian, which prohibited the magistrates from inflicting any capital, or even corporal punishment, on a free citizen; and immoderate rigour was followed by unlimited impunity.

A new system of criminal jurisprudence was introduced by the Cornelian, the Pompeian, and Julian laws. By the subsequent rescripts from the throne, capital punishments were revived; honourable persons were beheaded; meaner criminals were hanged, burnt, or exposed to the wild beasts of the theatre; armed robbers were pursued and extirpated; but simple theft was uniformly considered as a civil and private injury.

The free citizens of Rome enjoyed in all criminal cases the invaluable privilege of being tried by their country. The right of accusation was confined to the magistrates. A vote of the thirty-five tribes could inflict a fine; but the cognizance of capital crimes was reserved by a fundamental law to the assembly of the centuries. These popular trials were commonly less formidable

formidable to innocence, than favourable to guilt. As the taſk of convening the citizens became, from their numbers, more difficult, the juriſdiction of the people was delegated to *inquiſitors*. By theſe inquiſitors the trial was prepared and directed; but they could only pronounce the ſentence of a majority of the *judges*; who were annually ſelected, in equal numbers, from the moſt ancient and reſpectable of the ſenate, the equeſtrian order, and the people; they might amount to ſome thouſands; in each particular cauſe a ſufficient number was drawn from the urn; their integrity was guarded by an oath; and the mode of ballot ſecured their independence. But before the age of Juſtinian, the Roman judges had ſunk to an empty title, and criminal juriſdiction was adminiſtered by a ſingle magiſtrate, who was raiſed and diſgraced by the will of the emperor.

A Roman accuſed of any capital crime might prevent the ſentence of the law by voluntary exile or death. The tyranny of the Cæſars deprived them of the firſt reſource; and in the reign of Domitian, the voluntary death, which, in the caſe of a capital offence, intervened between the accuſation and the ſentence, was conſidered as a confeſſion of guilt, and the ſpoils of the deceaſed were ſeized by the treaſury. But the civilians reſtored to the citizen his former claims over his own life; and acknowledged, that he who is reſolved on deſtruction, may deride the powers of this world, and can only be reſtrained by the apprehenſion of a future ſtate.

The penal ſtatutes form but a ſmall proportion of

the code and pandect, and the emperor appears to have guarded the property of his ſubjects with more care than their perſons. The civil juriſprudence, though abridged by Juſtinian, ſtill continued a myſterious ſcience and a profitable trade. The dilatory and coſtly proceedings increaſed the influence of the rich, and aggravated the miſeries of the poor; the expence of the purſuit often exceeded the value of the prize, and the faireſt rights were abandoned by the poverty or prudence of the claimants.

CHAPTER XXXII.

REIGN OF THE YOUNGER JUSTIN—EMBASSY OF THE AVARS—THEIR SETTLEMENT ON THE DANUBE—CONQUEST OF ITALY BY THE LOMBARDS—ADOPTION AND REIGN OF TIBERIUS—OF MAURICE—STATE OF ITALY UNDER THE LOMBARDS AND THE EXARCHS OF RAVENNA—DISTRESS OF ROME—CHARACTER AND PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY THE FIRST.

ON the death of Juſtinian, the ſucceſſion of the empire menaced the repoſe of its ſubjects. Seven nephews of the childleſs monarch, the ſons or grandſons of his brother and ſiſter, had been educated with ſplendour, and might expect with equal hopes the inheritance of their uncle. [A. D. 565. Nov. 15.] At the hour of midnight, Juſtin, the ſon of Vigilantia, was awakened by the principal members of the ſenate; theſe welcome deputies announced the emperor's deceaſe, and reported his dying choice of Juſtin; that prince, by the advice of his wife Sophia, ſubmitted to the authority of the ſenate. He was conducted with ſpeed to the palace, inveſted with the imperial garments, and a fortunate youth, whom he inſtantly promoted to the rank of tribune, encircled his neck with a military collar. Four youths exalted him on a ſhield to receive the adoration of his ſubjects; and their choice was ſanctified by the benediction of the patriarch, who placed the diadem on the head of an orthodox prince.

In the ſpeeches of Juſtin to the ſenate and people, he promiſed to correct the abuſes of his predeceſſor, whoſe debts he immediately diſcharged with unexpected generoſity; and the hopeleſs creditors accepted the equitable payment as a voluntary gift. His example was imitated by Sophia, whoſe liberality delivered many indigent citizens from the weight of debt and uſury.

On the ſeventh day of his reign, Juſtin gave audience to the ambaſſadors of the Avars; and the ſcene was decorated to impreſs the Barbarians with aſtoniſhment, veneration, and terror. [A. D. 565.] In the firſt emotions of their ſurpriſe, they proſtrated themſelves before the emperor; but as ſoon as they roſe from the ground, Targetius, the chief of the embaſſy, extolled the greatneſs of the Chagan, by whoſe clemency the kingdoms of the ſouth were permitted to exiſt; he repreſented the liberality of Juſtinian, who had annually cultivated their friendſhip by coſtly gifts; and recommended to the nephew to imitate his uncle; and purchaſe peace from an invincible people who delighted in war. The reply of the emperor was delivered in a ſtrain of haughty defiance. "The em-
"pire," ſaid he, "abounds with men, horſes, and
"arms, ſufficient to defend our frontiers, and chaſtiſe
"the Barbarians. You offer aid; you threaten ho-
"ſtilities: we deſpiſe your enmity and your aid. The
"conquerors of the Avars ſolicit our alliance; ſhall
"we dread their fugitives and exiles? The bounty
"of our uncle was granted to your miſery, to your
"humble prayers; from us you ſhall receive a more
"important

" important obligation, the knowledge of your own " weakneſs. Retire from our preſence; the lives of " ambaſſadors are ſafe; and if you return to implore " our pardon, perhaps you will taſte of our benevo- " lence." The Chagan was awed by the apparent firmneſs of the Roman emperor; he marched into the countries of Germany which were ſubject to the Franks; after two doubtful battles, he conſented to retire on receiving a ſupply of corn and cattle. Diſappointment chilled the ardour of the Avars, and they probably would have diſſolved away in the Sarmatian Deſert, had they not been aroused by the arguments and alliance of Alboin, king of the Lombards.

Alboin, under his father's ſtandard, had encountered and ſlain the rival prince of the Gepidæ; the Lombards requeſted that the youth might ſhare the feaſt. " You are not ignorant," replied his father, the inflexible Audoin, " of the wiſe cuſtoms of our " anceſtors. Whatever may be his merit, a prince is " incapable of ſitting at table with his father, till he " has received his arms from a foreign and royal " hand." Alboin ſelected forty companions, and viſited the court of Turiſund, king of the Gepidæ, who entertained with hoſpitality the murderer of his ſon. But he could not entirely diſſemble the grief for his loſs; and Cunimund, his ſurviving ſon, was provoked by fraternal affection to the deſire of vengeance. " The Lombards," ſaid the rude Barbarian, " reſem- " ble in figure and ſmell the mares of our Sarmatian " plains." " Add another reſemblance," replied an audacious Lombard, " you have felt how ſtrongly they

"kick. Visit the plain of Asfeld, and seek for the "bones of thy brother; they are mingled with those "of the vilest animals." The Gepidæ started from their seats; but the tumult was appeased by the venerable interposition of Turisund. The weeping monarch saved the life of his guest, and dismissed him with the solemn rites of investiture. But the beauty of Rosamond, the daughter of Cunimund, had inflamed the desires of Alboin, who had succeeded to the throne of his father; the arts of persuasion were tried without success, and the impatient lover obtained the object of his passion by force and stratagem. The insult was resented; the Gepidæ were supported by a Roman army; the Lombards yielded to their united force; and Alboin, after having in vain offered marriage, reluctantly relinquished his beauteous prey.

The revenge of Alboin induced him to implore the formidable aid of the Chagan, who, after a protracted negociation, signified the ultimate price of his alliance. The Lombards were immediately to present him with a tythe of their cattle; their spoils and captives were to be equally divided; but the lands of the Gepidæ were to become the sole patrimony of the Avars. Justin, disgusted with the ingratitude and perfidy of the Gepidæ, resigned them to their fate. The despair of Cunimund, for Turisund was no more, was active and dangerous; he rushed impatiently to encounter his implacable enemy; but the valour of the Gepidæ, and their monarch, secured them only an honourable death, and the skull of Cunimund was fashioned by the savage conqueror into the shape of a cup. The victorious

ous confederates advanced without reſiſtance; the terms of their agreement were faithfully executed; the empire of the Chagans was eſtabliſhed in Dacia; the ſpoil was divided; and the fair Roſamond was perſuaded by Alboin to accept the hand of her triumphant lover.

The ambition of the king of the Lombards was ſtill unſatisfied; from the banks of the Danube, he turned his eyes to thoſe of the Po and the Tyber; his ſubjects, as the confederates of Narſes, had already viſited the plains of Italy; their ſucceſs had kindled in the riſing generation the flame of emulation and enterpriſe; this was fanned by the ſpirit and eloquence of Alboin; and no ſooner had he erected his ſtandard, than the native ſtrength of the Lombards was augmented by the adventurous youth of Germany and Scythia; [A. D. 567.] the Bulgarians, Sarmatians, Bavarians, and Saxons, ſwelled the hoſt of Alboin; and the Lombards reſigned their lands to the Avars, on a ſolemn promiſe, that, if they failed in the conqueſt of Italy, they ſhould be reinſtated in their former poſſeſſions.

The abilities of Narſes might have defeated the deſigns of the aſpiring Barbarians; but the virtues of the eunuch were ſtained with avarice; the provincials complained; Longinus, a new exarch, was appointed to ſucceed the conqueror of Italy, who by the inſulting mandate of the empreſs Sophia was commanded "to leave to *men* the exerciſe of arms, and return to "his proper ſtation among the maidens of the palace, "where a diſtaff ſhould be again placed in the hand "of

"of the eunuch." "I will ſpin her ſuch a thread as "ſhe ſhall not eaſily unravel," was the reply of the indignant hero, who retired to Naples, and invited the Lombards to chaſtiſe the ingratitude of the prince and people; the danger of the Romans rendered them ſenſible of the value of their general; a reconciliation was endeavoured and effected; but the death of Narſes prevented him from repairing the error he had fatally committed. Longinus was ignorant of the ſtate of the army and province; and Italy, diſcontented and diſtracted, had been deſolated in the preceding years by the ravages of peſtilence and famine.

The adventurous Alboin deſcended from the Julian Alps into the fruitful plains, on which his ſucceſs beſtowed the new and permanent appellation of LOMBARDY. In five months after his departure from Pannonia, Milan was inveſted by his powers; [A. D. 568.] the inhabitants readily accepted a faithleſs capitulation. From the Trentine hills to the gates of Ravenna and Rome, the inland regions of Italy ſubmitted without a ſiege or battle; the ambitious Barbarian aſſumed the character of a lawful monarch; and the helpleſs Longinus announced to the emperor the irretrievable loſs of his provinces and cities. Pavia alone reſiſted the arms of the invader, and during three years the Lombards were engaged in the tedious ſiege of that city. Famine at length compelled the garriſon to ſurrender; but as Alboin, who had vowed to puniſh their obſtinacy by a general maſſacre, entered the city, his horſe ſtumbled and fell; the accident was improved by the piety of one of his attendants; the conqueror relented; the

the value of the city was enhanced by the difficulty of the conqueſt; and Pavia for ſeveral ages was reſpected as the capital of Italy.

Before Alboin could regulate his conqueſts, he fell a victim to female revenge. In the palace of Verona, at a feaſt of intemperance, he called for the ſkull of Cunimund, the horrid ornament of his table; after the cup of victory had been exhauſted by the Lombard chiefs, "Fill it again with wine," ſaid the inhuman conqueror; "carry this goblet to the queen, "and requeſt in my name that ſhe would rejoice with "her father." The indignant Roſamond obeyed; but ſhe nouriſhed from that moment an inſatiate deſire of vengeance; ſhe had already proſtituted her charms to Helmichis, the king's armour-bearer; ſhe now imparted to him her intentions, and required his aſſiſtance. Helmichis communicated the conſpiracy to Peredeus, one of the braveſt champions of the Lombards. Peredeus, rejected the crime, but promiſed to keep the ſecret; the queen to engage the warrior in her guilt, ſupplied in the dark, the place of one of her female attendants who was beloved by the chief; and after the moment of tranſport, informed the aſtoniſhed Peredeus, that his own death, or that of Alboin, muſt be the conſequence of the treaſonable adultery. In this alternative, he choſe rather to become the accomplice, than the victim of Roſamond. [A. D. 573.] Alboin, oppreſſed with wine, was betrayed by his faithleſs ſpouſe; he was transfixed by the ſpears of his aſſaſſins; and the daughter of Cunimund ſatiated her enmity by the murder of her huſband.

The triumph of Roſamond was of ſhort duration; the menaced juſtice of the Lombard chiefs compelled her to abdicate the tranſient power ſhe had aſſumed. With her infant daughter, the heireſs of the Lombards, and her two lovers, ſhe eſcaped to Ravenna. Longinus beheld with delight the charms of Roſamond; the widow of Alboin readily liſtened to the paſſion of the miniſter; and to deliver himſelf from a jealous lover, preſented to Helmichis, as he iſſued from the bath, a baneful potion; the taſte of the liquor convinced him that he was poiſoned. He pointed his dagger to the breaſt of Roſamond, and compelled her to ſwallow the remainder of the deadly cup. Her daughter, with Peredeus, was embarked for Conſtantinople; and the free ſuffrage of the Lombards raiſed Clepho to the throne as the ſucceſſor of Alboin. Before the end of eighteen months, Clepho was ſtabbed by a domeſtic; and during ten years, the minority of his ſon Autharis, Italy was divided by a ducal ariſtocracy of thirty tyrants.

The annals of the ſecond Juſtin are marked with diſgrace abroad, and miſery at home; the Roman empire was afflicted by the loſs of Italy, the deſolation of Africa, and the conqueſts of the Perſians. The capital and the provinces were exhauſted by the venality of the magiſtrates, and the injuſtice of the governors. The ſentiments of Juſtin were pure and benevolent; but his faculties were impaired by diſeaſe, and he was confined to his palace a ſtranger to the complaints of his people. His only ſon had died in his infancy; his daughter was married to Baduarius, the ſuperintendant of

of the palace; and Juſtin was accuſtomed to behold with jealouſy and hatred his brothers and couſins. This domeſtic animoſity induced the emperor to ſeek a ſucceſſor, not in his family, but in the republic. The artifices of Sophia determined him in favour of Tiberius, the faithful captain of his guards. The ceremony of his elevation was performed in the portico of the palace, in the preſence of the patriarch and the ſenate. [A. D. 574.] The ſpeech of Juſtin, who collected his remaining ſtrength of body and mind, was by the populace aſcribed to the inſpiration of the deity: after adviſing Tiberius to conſult the experience rather than the example of his predeceſſor, and to reſpect the empreſs as his mother, he concluded with "Love the people like yourſelf; cultivate the affec-"tions, maintain the diſcipline of the army; protect "the fortunes of the rich, and relieve the neceſſities of "the poor." The aſſembly, in tears, applauded the counſels of their prince; and Juſtin, in the moment of his abdication, ſeemed worthy to reign. The four laſt years of his life were paſſed in tranquil obſcurity, and his choice was juſtified by the reverence and gratitude of Tiberius.

The beauty of Tiberius had introduced him to the favour of Sophia; [A. D. 536.] and the widow of Juſtin hoped to preſerve her ſtation and influence under the reign of a ſecond, and more youthful huſband; but her expectations were diſappointed; and the clamours of the hippodrome for their new empreſs, compelled Tiberius to proclaim Anaſtaſia, his ſecret but lawful wife. Imperial honours, a ſtately palace, and a numerous

numerous houſehold, could not appeaſe the reſentment of Sophia. While ſhe diſguiſed her paſſions in fair expreſſions of regard, ſhe concluded a treaty with her ancient enemies; and Juſtinian, the ſon of Germanus, was the inſtrument of her revenge. On the death of Juſtin, the youth, who was deſervedly popular, had already been named by a tumultuous faction; the magnanimity of Tiberius, inſtead of puniſhing, had entruſted him with the command of the eaſtern armies; the Perſian monarch fled before him; and the acclamations which accompanied his triumph, had declared him worthy of the purple. Sophia choſe the time when the emperor was abſent in a rural retirement; but his haſty return on the intelligence of her deſigns, diſſipaed her ambitious ſchemes. Her train was diſmiſſed, her correſpondence intercepted, and her perſon committed to the cuſtody of a faithful guard. But the ſervices of Juſtinian outweighed, in the mind of the excellent Tiberius, his treaſon and ingratitude; the ſon of Germanus was forgiven, and it was commonly believed that the emperor entertained ſome thoughts of contracting a double alliance with the rival of his throne.

Tiberius had aſſumed the more popular appellation of Conſtantine. Humane, juſt, temperate, and brave, his ſubjects contemplated with pleaſure the virtues of their ſovereign. He alleviated the immediate diſtreſs of the people by liberally remitting the arrears of taxes; and his wiſe and equitable laws excited the praiſe and regret of ſucceeding times. But the Romans of the Eaſt were not long to enjoy the bleſſings of his reign;

in

in leſs than four years after the death of Juſtin, he ſunk into a mortal diſeaſe, which left him only ſufficient time to beſtow the diadem on the moſt deſerving of his fellow-citizens. From the crowd he ſelected Maurice, to whom he reſigned his daughter and his empire; and expreſſed his hope that the virtues of his ſon and ſucceſſor would erect the nobleſt mauſoleum to his memory.

The parents of Maurice were ſettled at Aribiſſus, in Cappadocia, and ſurvived to behold and partake of the fortune of their ſon. The youth of the emperor had been ſpent in arms; his valour and conduct were ſignalized in the Perſian war; [A. D. 582. 602.] he aſcended the throne at the age of forty-three years, and reigned above twenty years over the Eaſt and over himſelf. Reaſon and virtue had ſubdued the warmth of his paſſions; he was endowed with ſenſe and courage to promote the happineſs of his people; and his adminiſtration was directed by the principles and example of Tiberius.

Rome, aſſailed by the Lombards, and afflicted by famine, had implored the aſſiſtance of Tiberius. Part of their diſtreſs was relieved by a ſupply of corn; and to this was added the advice of the emperor, either to bribe the Lombard chiefs, or to purchaſe the aid of the kings of France. This weak invention did not prevent Rome from being beſieged again, and the ſuburb of Claſſe, only three miles from Ravenna, was pillaged and occupied by the troops of a duke of Spoleto. Maurice, moved by a deputation of prieſts and ſenators, adopted, with ſtronger effect, the meaſures of

of his predeceſſor. Some formidable chiefs were perſuaded to embrace the friendſhip of Rome; the paſſes of the Alps were delivered to the Franks; and Childebert, the grandſon of Clovis, was allured to invade Italy by the payment of fifty pieces of gold. The dukes of the Lombards, apprehenſive of their powerful neighbours of Gaul, renounced their feeble and diſorderly independence, and acknowledged the authority of Autharis, the ſon of Clepho, who had already obtained the ſtrength and reputation of a warrior. [A. D. 584.] Under their new king, they withſtood three ſucceſſive invaſions; one of which was led by Childebert himſelf. The firſt expedition was defeated by the jealouſy of the Franks and Alemanni; in the ſecond they were vanquiſhed in a bloody battle; and on their third return, Autharis was forced to yield to the accumulated numbers of their collected hoſt. But the forces and the treaſures of the Lombards were diſtributed in walled towns; the Franks were impatient of the delay of ſieges; their bodies were infected with diſeaſe; and inſtead of conquering, their powers were employed in deſolating the country. After having expected for ſix days the junction of the imperial forces, who were vainly engaged in the ſieges of Modena and Parma, the Franks retired; and the victorious Autharis aſſerted his claim to the dominion of Italy.

That country, during a period of two hundred years, was unequally divided between the kingdom of the Lombards, and the exarchate of Ravenna. The full remains of civil, of military, and even of eccleſiaſtical power, were united in eighteen ſucceſſive exarchs.

archs. Their immediate jurisdiction extended over the modern Romagna, the marshes of Ferrara and Commachio, five maritime cities from Rimini to Ancona, and a second, inland Pentapolis, between the Adriatic coast, and the hills of the Apennine. The supremacy of the exarch was acknowledged by the three subordinate provinces of Rome, of Venice, and of Naples; and the three islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, still adhered to the empire: but Naples soon acquired the privilege of electing her own dukes; the independence of Amalphi was the fruit of commerce; and Venice was finally ennobled by an equal alliance with the Eastern empire. The remainder of Italy was possessed by the Lombards; and from Pavia, the royal seat, their kingdom was extended to the east, the north, and the west, as far as the confines of the Avars, Bavarians, and the Franks of Austrasia and Burgundy.

The dress of the ancient Lombards consisted of loose linen garments; their legs and feet were clothed in long hose and open sandals; and even in the tranquillity of peace, a sword was constantly girt to their side; their heads were shaven behind, but their hair before hung over their eyes and mouth, and a long beard represented the name and character of the nation. Yet this strange apparel, and horrid aspect, often concealed a gentle and generous disposition; and as soon as the rage of battle had subsided, the captives and subjects were frequently surprised by the humanity of the victor. The vices of the Lombards were the effects of passion, of ignorance, of intoxication; their

virtues were the uncultivated ſpontaneous growth of nature.

Autharis, their monarch, ſought in marriage the daughter of Garibald, the king of Bavaria, who accepted the proffered alliance. The ardent lover viſited the Bavarian court in the train of his own embaſſy; he informed Garibald, that the ambaſſador was indeed the miniſter of ſtate, but he alone was the friend of Autharis. Theudelinda was ſummoned to the interview; and Autharis, after regarding her charms with rapture, hailed her queen of Italy; and humbly requeſted ſhe would preſent a cup of wine to the firſt of her new ſubjects. As he returned the cup, he ſecretly touched the hand of the princeſs, and drew his own finger over his face and lips. Theudelinda imparted to her nurſe the indiſcreet familiarity of the ſtranger; and was comforted by the aſſurance, that ſuch boldneſs could only proceed from the king her lover. When the ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed, and had reached the confines of Italy, Autharis, from his horſe, darted his battle-axe againſt a tree with incomparable ſtrength and dexterity. "Such," ſaid he, to the aſtoniſhed Bavarians, "ſuch are the ſtrokes of the king of the "Lombards." On the approach of a French army, Garibald, and his daughter, took refuge in the dominions of their ally; the marriage was conſummated; the virtues of Theudelinda endeared her to the nation; and on the death of Autharis, ſhe was permitted to beſtow, with her hand, the ſceptre of the Italian kingdom.

By the laws of the Lombards, ſuch crimes as threat-

ened the life of the ſovereign, or the ſafety of the ſtate, were adjudged worthy of death; the guilt of blood might be redeemed by a fine; but the high price of nine hundred pieces of gold, declares a juſt ſenſe of the value of a ſimple citizen; a blow, or an opprobrious word, with a train of ſlighter injuries, were meaſured with ſcrupulous diligence. Peace, order, and domeſtic happineſs, were gradually introduced; and under the ſucceſſion of the Lombard kings, the Italians enjoyed a milder and more equitable government than any of the other kingdoms which had been founded on the ruins of the weſtern empire.

Rome, about the cloſe of the ſixth century, had reached the loweſt period of her depreſſion. The ſources of private and public opulence were exhauſted; and the hoſtile approach of the Lombards was often felt, and continually feared. The diſtreſſed inhabitants opened or ſhut, the gates with a trembling hand; they beheld from the walls the flames of their houſes; and heard the lamentations of their brethren, who were dragged into diſtant ſlavery beyond the ſea and the mountains. Curioſity and ambition no longer attracted the nations to the capital of the world: but if chance, or neceſſity, directed the ſteps of a wandering ſtranger, he contemplated, with horror, the vacancy and ſolitude of the city. The edifices of Rome were expoſed to ruin and decay; the mouldering fabrics were eaſily overthrown by inundations, tempeſts, and earthquakes; and Rome, like Thebes, or Babylon, or Carthage, might have been eraſed from the earth, if the city had not been animated by a

vital principle, which again reſtored her to honour and dominion.

A vague tradition was embraced, that two Jewiſh teachers, a tentmaker, and a fiſherman, had formerly been executed in the circus of Nero; and at the end of five hundred years, their relics were adored as the palladium of ancient Rome. The pilgrims of the Eaſt and Weſt had reſorted to the holy threſhold; and the ſhrines of the apoſtles were guarded by miracles and inviſible powers: but their virtues reſided with living energy in the breaſts of their ſucceſſors; and the chair of St. Peter was filled, under the reign of Maurice, by the firſt, and greateſt, of the name of Gregory.

The parents of Gregory were the nobleſt of the ſenate, and the moſt pious of the church of Rome. His birth and abilities had raiſed him to the office of præfect of the city, when he renounced his ſtation, and dedicated his patrimony to the foundation of monaſteries. His talents rendered him dear to the church; and from the exerciſe of monaſtic virtues, he was called by the unanimous voice of the clergy to the papal throne. [A. D. 590.] The biſhops of Italy, and the adjacent iſlands, acknowledged the Roman pontiff as their ſpecial metropolitan; and his ſucceſsful claims on the provinces of Greece, of Spain, and of Gaul, might countenance the more lofty pretenſions of ſucceeding popes. The misfortunes of Rome involved the apoſtolical paſtor in the buſineſs of peace and war; if we may credit his own declarations, it would have been eaſy for him to have exterminated the Lombards by their domeſtic factions; but as a Chriſtian

tian biſhop, he preferred the ſalutary offices of peace; and, diſappointed of a general treaty, he preſumed to ſave his country, without the conſent of the emperor, or the exarch. His mild eloquence and ſeaſonable gifts averted the ſword of the Barbarians, ſuſpended over Rome. His merits were treated by the Byzantine court with reproach and inſult; but he found the beſt right of a ſovereign, and the pureſt reward of a citizen, in the attachment of a grateful people.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

REVOLUTIONS OF PERSIA AFTER THE DEATH OF CHOSROES, OR NUSHIRVAN—HIS SON HORMOUZ, A TYRANT, IS DEPOSED—USURPATION OF BAHARAM—FLIGHT AND RESTORATION OF CHOSROES II.—HIS GRATITUDE TO THE ROMANS—THE CHAGAN OF THE AVARS—REVOLT OF THE ARMY AGAINST MAURICE—HIS DEATH—TYRANNY OF PHOCAS—ELEVATION OF HERACLIUS—THE PERSIAN WAR—CHOSROES SUBDUES SYRIA, EGYPT, AND ASIA MINOR—SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE PERSIANS AND AVARS—PERSIAN EXPEDITIONS—VICTORIES AND TRIUMPH OF HERACLIUS.

THE Greeks, for by that name the subjects of the eastern empire were now generally distinguished, accuse their ancient enemies, the Persians, of violating the peace, which had been concluded about four years before the death of Justinian. Nushirvan aspired to reduce, under his obedience, the province of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, which had escaped the conquerors of the East. He chased the Abyssinians beyond the Red Sea, [A. D. 570.] and restored to the throne, as his vassal, a native prince of the ancient Homerites: but the successor of Justinian declared his resolution to avenge the injuries of his Christian ally, the prince of Abyssinia, as they suggested a decent pretence to discontinue the *tribute*, which was disguised under the name of pension. The churches of Persarmenia, oppressed by the magi, invoked

invoked the protector of the Chriſtians; and the rebels were ſupported as the brethren and ſubjects of the Roman emperor. The complaints of Nuſhirvan were diſregarded by the Byzantine court; an alliance was formed with the Turks; and the Perſian monarchy was menaced by the forces of Europe, of Æthiopia, and of Scythia. As ſoon as war became inevitable, Nuſhirvan, at the age of fourſcore, took the field with the alacrity of youth, and conducted, in perſon, the ſiege of Dara. [A. D. 572.] That fortreſs, protected by the valour of its inhabitants, reſiſted above five months the archers, the elephants, and the military engines of the great king. In the mean while his general, Adarman, paſſed the Euphrates, inſulted the ſuburbs of Antioch, reduced to aſhes Apamea, and returned with the ſpoils of Syria to his maſter, whoſe perſeverance, in the midſt of winter, at length ſubverted the bulwark of the Eaſt.

The ſucceſs of the Perſians aſtoniſhed the provinces and court of the emperor, produced the abdication of Juſtin, and introduced a new ſpirit into the Byzantine councils. A truce of three years was obtained by the prudence of Tiberius. That interval was employed in the preparations of war; from Scythia, Mæſia, Pannonia, Illyricum, and Iſauria, the ſtrength of the imperial cavalry was reinforced with one hundred and fifty thouſand ſoldiers. The king of Perſia reſolved to prevent the attack of the enemy; without regarding the treaty, he again paſſed the Euphrates, and the two armies encountered each other in the battle of Melitene. A Scythian chief, who commanded the right

wing of the Romans, turned the flank of the enemy, attacked the rear guard in the preſence of Nuſhirvan himſelf, pillaged the royal tent, and cut his way through the Perſian hoſt to his applauding friends. The darkneſs of the night, and the ſeparation of the Romans, afforded the Perſian monarch an opportunity of revenge, and one of their camps was ſwept away by his impetuous aſſault; but the conſciouſneſs of his danger determined Nuſhirvan to a ſpeedy retreat; he burnt the vacant town of Melitene; and, regardleſs of his troops, ſwam the Euphrates on the back of an elephant. The Romans were left maſters of the field; and their general, Juſtinian, advanced to the relief of Perſamenia, and erected his ſtandard on the banks of the Araxes. On the return of ſpring, he deſcended into the plains of Aſſyria, and extended his devaſtations within ſight of the palace of Nuſhirvan. The indignant monarch ſunk beneath the diſgrace; [A. D. 579.] and his laſt edict reſtrained his ſucceſſors from expoſing their perſon in a battle againſt the Romans; who amidſt their triumphs, ſolicited again a ſhort reſpite from the calamities of war.

The throne of Nuſhirvan was filled by his ſon Hormouz, who, with the kingdoms of Perſia and India, inherited the example of his father, a diſciplined army, wiſe and valiant officers, and a ſyſtem of adminiſtration regulated by time and political wiſdom. His education had been formed by Buzurg, the Seneca of his Eaſt; and the ſage, who had inſtructed the ſovereign, conſented, during three years, to direct the councils of the Perſian empire; but when age, or labour, had impaired

paired the ſtrength of this prudent counſellor, he retired from court, and the youthful monarch was abandoned to his own paſſions, and thoſe of his favourites. The miniſters of flattery and corruption, who had been baniſhed by Nuſhirvan, were recalled by Hormouz; and the ſage and virtuous friends of the father, were driven by the ſon into exile and diſgrace. The provincial governors ſpread rapine and injuſtice through the provinces of Perſia; the murmurs of the cities were deſpiſed; and the monarch was fond of declaring, that he alone would be the maſter of his kingdom. His avarice defrauded the troops; his jealous caprice degraded the ſatraps; the palace, the tribunals, the waters of the Tigris, were ſtained with the blood of the innocent; and the tyrant exulted in the ſufferings and execution of thirteen thouſand victims. Exaſperated by long and hopeleſs oppreſſion, the provinces of Babylon, Suſa, and Carmania, erected the ſtandard of revolt; and the princes of Arabia, India, and Scythia, refuſed the cuſtomary tribute to the unworthy ſon of Nuſhirvan. Meſopotamia and Aſſyria were afflicted by the frequent inroads of the Romans; and the imprudent Hormouz accepted the perfidious aid of the great khan, who paſſed the Oxus, at the head of four hundred thouſand Turks. The march of theſe Barbarians towards the mountains of Hyrcania, revealed their correſpondence with the Romans; and the junction of the two powers muſt have finally extinguiſhed the ſovereignty of the houſe of Saſſan.

While Perſia caſt a look of deſpair on her ſurrounding enemies, a hero aroſe, whoſe virtues and fortunes

preſerved

preſerved her from ruin. [A. D. 590.] Varanes, or Bahram, was deſcended from the ancient princes of Rei, and his valour had been ſignalized at the ſiege of Dara, under the eyes of Nuſhirvan. He was ſucceſſively promoted by that monarch, and his ſon, to the command of armies, the government of Media, and the ſuperintendance of the palace. He had the ſtrength and ſtature of a giant, and his countenance was ſtern and ſavage. Amidſt the general conſternation of the king and his people, he alone was undaunted; and when he found that no more than twelve thouſand ſoldiers could be prevailed on to march againſt the enemy, he prudently declared, that to this peculiar number heaven had reſerved the honours of the triumph. He occupied the ſteep and narrow deſcent of the Hyreanian rock, the only paſſage into the territory of Rei, and the plains of Media. His reſolute followers, from the commanding heights, overwhelmed with darts and ſtones the myriads of the Turkiſh hoſt; the khan and his ſon periſhed amidſt the crowd; and the miſerable fugitives were abandoned to the revenge of an injured people. The ardour of the Perſians was kindled by the ſucceſs of the victor, and the ſpoils of the hoſtile camp. The army of Bahram was ſwelled by the acceſſion of numerous recruits, who were impatient to ſhare the precious fruits of conqueſt. The approach of a Roman army on the ſide of the Araxes, demanded the preſence of Bahram; and he was now to encounter a new enemy, by their ſkill and diſcipline more formidable than a Scythian multitude. Elated with his recent ſucceſs, he diſpatched a defiance to the Romans,

Romans, and requeſted them to fix a day of battle; and determine whether they would paſs the river themſelves, or allow a free paſſage to the arms of the great king. The lieutenant of Maurice preferred the latter alternative; and the temerity of Bahram was chaſtiſed by a total and bloody defeat. The malicious mind of Hormouz was leſs affected with the ſufferings of his ſubjects, than gratified by the diſgrace of his general. Bahram had ſcarce collected his ſcattered forces, before he received, from a royal meſſenger, the inſulting gift of a diſtaff, a ſpinning wheel, and a ſuit of female apparel. His indignant ſoldiers reſented the ignominious treatment of their leader; a ſhout of rebellion ran through the ranks; the meſſengers and adherents of Hormouz were ſacrificed to the public fury; the Perſians were exhorted to aſſert their freedom; the troops crowded to the ſtandard of Bahram; and the provinces ſaluted the deliverer of his country.

Hormouz, ſenſible of the diſcontents of his ſubjects, but ignorant of the number of his enemies, diſplayed, in the city of Modain, the enſigns of royalty. His cruelty had caſt into a dungeon, Bindoes, a Saſſanian prince; the fetters of the captive were broken by the zeal of his brother; at the head of the revolted guard he ſeized the palace, and dragged the aſtoniſhed Hormouz from a throne to a priſon. Choſroes, the eldeſt of the ſons of Hormouz, had eſcaped amidſt the tumults from the city; he was perſuaded to return by Bindoes, who promiſed to ſeat him on the throne, and expected to reign under the name of an inexperienced youth. For Hormouz was inſtituted a public trial, without

without a precedent, and without a copy in the annals of the East. The son of Nushirvan pleaded his cause in the full assembly of the nobles. As long as he expatiated on his own sufferings, he was heard with respect and even compassion; but when he attempted to asperse the character of Chosroes, and offered to resign the sceptre to his second son, a cry of indignation was heard through the assembly; and his imprudent partiality subscribed his own condemnation, and sacrificed the life of his favourite. The eyes of Hormouz were pierced with a hot needle; but the piety of Chosroes endeavoured to alleviate the misery of his father; he removed him to an apartment of the palace, supplied him with every sensual enjoyment, and patiently endured the furious sallies of his resentment.

Bahram, at the head of a formidable army, denied the justice of a revolution, in which himself and his soldiers had never been consulted. In answer to a general amnesty offered by Chosroes, he commanded the son of Hormouz to shun the example and fate of his father; to confine the traitors whom he had released; to resign the diadem which he had usurped, and to accept a pardon and the government of a province.—The feeble army which Chosroes led into the field was soon defeated and dispersed by the veterans of Bahram; the monarch was reduced to implore aid or protection in some foreign land; and Bindoes hastily returned to the palace, to establish, by the death of Hormouz, an unquestionable title to the throne.

The friendship and support of the Romans was preferred by Chosroes on account of the neighbourhood

of

of Syria, which rendered his escape more easy, and their succours more effectual. Attended only by his concubines, and a troop of thirty guards, he followed the banks of the Euphrates, traversed the deserts, and was admitted by the Roman præfect, who commanded, into the fortress of Circesium; from thence he was conducted to Hierapolis; and his anxiety was soon relieved by an assurance from the emperor Maurice, that he had espoused the cause of justice and royalty. A rich diadem was presented to the fugitive prince; a powerful army was assembled on the frontiers of Syria and Armenia; and the command of it, at the desire of Chosroes, was entrusted to Narses, an imperial general of approved ability, and who was born a subject of Persia. The troops passed the Tigris, and Maurice avowed his resolution never to sheath the sword, till he had restored the son of Hormouz. Persia was already distracted by tumults and insurrection; the usurpation of Bahram was opposed by the magi, who refused to consecrate the daring rebel; the nobility and people crowded to the standard of Chosroes; Medain surrendered on the first summons; and the fate of Bahram was decided by two battles on the banks of the Zab, and the confines of Media. With the remnant of a broken army, he fled towards the Oxus; the enmity of Persia reconciled him to the Turks; but his retreat was embittered by the remembrance of past glory, and his days were shortened by poison; yet the Persians still revere the fame of his exploits, and some excellent laws were enacted during his transient and turbulent reign.

A general pardon might have diffused comfort and tran-

tranquillity through the provinces of Perſia; but Choſroes puniſhed, with impartial and impolitic ſeverity, the revolt of Bahram and the conſpiracy of the ſatraps. The merits of Bindoes were confounded in the guilt of royal blood; and Choſroes, by a guard of a thouſand Romans, long proclaimed his confidence in the fidelity of ſtrangers. His growing ſtrength enabled him to diſmiſs this unpopular aid; but he ſtill continued to profeſs his gratitude and reverence to Maurice; the alliance of the two empires was faithfully maintained during the life of that emperor; and the aſſiſtance of the Romans was repaid by the reſtoration of the cities of Martyropolis and Dara, and the ceſſion of of a territory as far as the banks of the Araxes, and the neighbourhood of the Caſpian.

In Europe, by the departure of the Lombards, and the ruin of the Gepidæ, the dominion of the Avars was extended from the foot of the Alps to the ſea-coaſt of the Euxine. Baian, their chagan, occupied the ruſtic palace of Attila, and appears to have imitated his policy. During the ſucceſſive reigns of the ſecond Juſtin, of Tiberius, and of Maurice, the pride of the empire was wounded by the inſolence of a haughty Barbarian, who inſulted the envoys of the Byzantine court, and claimed unbounded licence for his own ambaſſadors at Conſtantinople. He extorted a regular ſupply of apparel, furniture, and plate, of pepper and cinnamon; his annual ſubſidy was raiſed from fourſcore to twenty thouſand pieces of gold; and each hoſtile interruption ſupplied him with the pretence for new exactions in the payment of arrears, and the

claims

claims of intereſt. He aſſerted his right, as the ſucceſſor of the Lombards, to the important city of Sirmium; the garriſon of Singidunum, which commands the conflux of the Danube and the Save, might have reſiſted his progreſs; but their apprehenſions were diſpelled by a ſolemn oath, that his deſigns were not hoſtile to the empire. "If I violate my oath," ſaid the intrepid Baian, "may I myſelf, and the laſt of my "nation, periſh by the ſword! may the heavens, the "fire, and the deity of the heavens, fall upon our "heads! may the foreſts and mountains bury us in "their ruins! and the Save returning, againſt the "laws of nature, to his ſource, overwhelm us in his "angry waves." After this imprecation, he calmly enquired what oath was moſt ſacred among the Chriſtians; the biſhop of Singidunum preſented the goſpel, which the chagan received with devout reverence.—"I ſwear," ſaid he, "by the God who has ſpoken in "this holy book, that I have neither falſehood on my "tongue, nor treachery in my heart." He was permitted to paſs the river, and he immediately proclaimed, by an envoy, what he no longer wiſhed to conceal. "Inform the emperor," ſaid he, "that Sirmium is "inveſted on every ſide. Adviſe his prudence to "withdraw the citizens and their effects, and to reſign a "city which it is now impoſſible to relieve or defend." The defence of Sirmium was however prolonged above three years, and the lives of the inhabitants were preſerved in a capitulation which famine compelled them to accept; from Sirmium to Conſtantinople, a line of

ſix

ſix hundred miles, the country was ravaged by the arms of the Avars; Hungary, Poland, and Pruſſia, from the mouth of the Danube to that of the Oder, were added to the empire of the chagan, and his new ſubjects were divided and tranſplanted by the jealous policy of the conqueror.

The concluſion of the Perſian war determined the emperor to march in perſon againſt the chagan; but he had ſcarce advanced a ſhort diſtance from Conſtantinople, before his mind was confounded by a variety of ill-boding omens; [A. D. 595.] inſenſible to his former fame, he returned to his capital, and committed the command of the army to his brother Peter, whoſe cowardice was found equal to his arrogance and injuſtice; the ſubſequent appointment of Commentiolus wounds ſtill more deeply the judgment of Maurice; his colleague Priſcus obtained indeed ſeveral ſplendid though tranſient advantages over the Barbarians; but that general was ſoon recalled by the apprehenſions that Baian was preparing to avenge his defeat under the walls of Conſtantinople.

During the reign of Maurice, the camps both of Aſia and Europe had been agitated by frequent and furious ſeditions; and the mildneſs and indulgence of the emperor, ſerved only to diſcover to the ſoldiers his weakneſs and their own ſtrength. The army beyond the Danube had been commanded to eſtabliſh their winter quarters in the hoſtile country of the Avars; their private murmurs were ſoon converted into open rage; they pronounced Maurice unfit to reign; and under

under the command of Phocas, a ſimple centurion, they returned by haſty marches into the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople.

Maurice might ſtill have avoided the impending danger, could he have depended on the fidelity of the capital; but his rigid and parſimonious virtues had long alienated the hearts of the inhabitants. He dreaded the popularity of Germanus, whoſe daughter his eldeſt ſon Theodoſius had married. In a nocturnal tumult, the lawleſs city was abandoned to every ſpcies of rapine and licentiouſneſs. The unfortunate Maurice, with his wife and nine children, in a ſmall boat eſcaped to the church of St. Autonomus, near Chalcedon, and from thence urged his ſon Theodoſius to implore the gratitude and friendſhip of the Perſian monarch. On his abdication, Conſtantinople opened her gates to Phocas, who after affecting to offer the purple to Germanus, entered the city amidſt the acclamations of a thoughtleſs people. His jealouſy or cruelty ſoon diſpatched the miniſters of death to Chalcedon; they dragged the emperor from his ſanctuary; murdered his five ſons before his face, while the parent at each ſtroke found ſtrength to rehearſe the pious ejaculation, "Thou art juſt, O Lord, and thy judgments are "righteous." His rigid attachment to juſtice revealed even the generous falſehood of a nurſe, who preſented her own child in the place of a royal infant. The tragic ſcene was cloſed by the execution of the emperor himſelf, in the twentieth year of his reign, and the ſixty-third of his age.

The flight of Theodoſius to the Perſian court, had

been intercepted by a rapid purſuit, and the young prince was, by order of the tyrant, beheaded at Nice. But his death did not ſecure the repoſe of the uſurper. A whiſper was circulated that the ſon of Maurice was ſtill alive. The diſcretion of Phocas had induced him to ſpare the wife and daughters of the late emperor; and the ſpirit of Conſtantina, mindful of her huſband and her ſons, aſpired to freedom and revenge. In her firſt attempt to arouſe the people, her life was preſerved at the interceſſion of the patriarch. Her ſecond conſpiracy proved fatal to herſelf and her three innocent daughters, who were beheaded at Chalcedon, after the empreſs had endured the pain and diſgrace of public torture. A train of meaner victims were ſacrificed to the fears and ſuſpicions of the tyrant; ſome expired under the laſh, others in the flames; others were again transfixed with arrows; and a ſimple and ſpeedy death was mercy which they could rarely obtain.

The only child of Phocas had been given in marriage to the patrician Criſpus; and the images of the bridegroom were indiſcreetly placed in the circus by the ſide of the emperor. The monarch was offended by the premature aſſociation, and Criſpus might reaſonably doubt whether he could forget the involuntary competition. Every province of the empire was ripe for rebellion; and the emiſſaries of Criſpus ſolicited Heraclius, exarch of Africa, who above two years had refuſed all obedience to the uſurper, to ſave and govern his country. But the ſpirit of Heraclius was chilled by age, and he reſigned the enterprize to his ſon Heraclius, and to Nicetas, the ſon of Gregory, his friend

and

and lieutenant. Theſe adventurous youths agreed, that the one ſhould lead the army, and the other navigate the fleet from Carthage to Conſtantinople; and that the imperial purple ſhould be the reward of diligence and ſucceſs. The ſhips of Heraclius ſteered their triumphant courſe through the Propontis. The people, and even the guards, were determined by the well-timed defection of Criſpus; the tyrant was ſeized, loaded with chains, and tranſported in a ſmall boat aboard the galley of Heraclius, who reproached him with his crimes. "Wilt thou govern better?" were the laſt words of Phocas. After ſuffering each variety of inſult and torture, his head was ſeparated from his body, and the trunk was caſt into the flames.

A. D. 610.] Heraclius aſcended the throne with the voice of the clergy, the ſenate and the people; and was inveſted with the purple before the tedious march of Nicetas was accompliſhed, who ſubmitted without a murmur to the fortune of his friend. His attachment was rewarded with an equeſtrian ſtatue, and a daughter of the emperor; the ſervices of Criſpus had been recompenſed with the Cappadocian army; but his arrogance juſtly provoked the new emperor, who compelled him to embrace a monaſtic life; with the obſervation, that the man who had betrayed his father, could never be faithful to his friend.

Choſroes had received with horror and indignation the intelligence of the fate of Maurice; he diſclaimed all connection with the uſurper, and declared himſelf the avenger of his friend and benefactor. For the crimes of an ambitious centurion, the Roman nation

was chaſtiſed with the calamities of war. Under the reign of Phocas, the fortifications of Merdin, Dara, Amida, and Edeſſa, were ſucceſſively beſieged, reduced, and deſtroyed by the Perſian monarch. [A. D. 611.] He paſſed the Euphrates, occupied the Syrian cities Hierapolis, Chalcis, and Berrhæa, and encompaſſed the walls of Antioch with his irreſiſtible hoſt. An impoſtor, who attended the camp of Choſroes as the ſon of Maurice, and the lawful heir of the Roman monarchy, afforded a decent apology for the ſubmiſſion of the ſubjects of the empire.

The firſt intelligence which Heraclius received from the Eaſt, was the loſs of Antioch; Cæſarea, the capital of Cappadocia, next yielded to the Perſians; the vale of Damaſcus was deluged by their innumerable forces; and after a ſhort repoſe, the conqueſt of Jeruſalem was meditated and atchieved by the ſon of Hormouz; [A. D. 614.] Egypt itſelf, which had been exempt from war ſince the time of Diocletian, was again ſubdued by the ſucceſſor of Cyrus; [A. D. 616.] another army in the ſame campaign advanced from the Euphrates to the Thracian Boſphorus. Chalcedon ſurrendered; and a Perſian camp was maintained above ten years in the preſence of Conſtantinople. But the provinces which had been faſhioned to the Roman government, ſupported with reluctance the yoke of the Barbarians; and the Perſian conqueror, conſcious of their fear and hatred, governed his new ſubjects with an iron ſceptre, and tranſported to his hereditary realms the gold and the ſilver, the arts and the artiſts of the Aſiatic cities. While he contemplated with pleaſure

pleaſure his wealth and power, he received an epiſtle from an obſcure citizen of Mecca, inviting him to acknowledge Mahomet as the apoſtle of God. He rejected the invitation, and tore the epiſtle. "It is thus," exclaimed the Arabian prophet, "that God will tear "the kingdom, and reject the ſupplications of Choſ-"roes." The prediction, though pronounced amidſt the Perſian triumphs, was accompliſhed by the ſubſequent victories of the Romans.

If the invaſion of Choſroes had been undertaken from motives of gratitude to Maurice, his hoſtile meaſures ought to have terminated with the life of Phocas; but the proſecution of the war revealed the true character of the Barbarian; and while his arms ſubdued Syria, Egypt, and the provinces of Aſia, Europe, from the confines of Iſtria to the long wall of Thrace, was ravaged by the ferocious Avars. The Roman empire was reduced to the walls of Conſtantinople, with the remnant of Greece, Italy, and Africa, and ſome maritime cities, from Tyre to Trebizond, of the Aſiatic coaſt. Heraclius himſelf, hopeleſs of relief, was diverted by the patriarch from the deſign of tranſferring his perſon and government to Carthage. At the altar of St. Sophia, the emperor bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to live and die with the people whom God had entruſted to his care. The chagan, encamped in the plains of Thrace, had ſolicited an interview with Heraclius near the town of Heracleia; on a ſudden, while their reconciliation was celebrated with equeſtrian games, the hippodrome was encompaſſed by the Scythian cavalry; the emperor was ſaved by the

fleetneſs of his horſe, and the Avars in their rapid purſuit almoſt entered Conſtantinople with the flying crowds. But in a more ſafe conference on the ſhores of Chalcedon, Sain, the Perſian general, ſaluted with reverence and pity the majeſty of the purple, and engaged to conduct a ſuppliant embaſſy to the preſence of the great king. But the lieutenant of Choſroes was ſoon convinced that he had fatally miſtaken his maſter's intentions. "It was not an embaſſy," ſaid the tyrant of Aſia, "It was the perſon of Heraclius bound "in chains that he ſhould have brought to the foot of "my throne. I will never give peace to the emperor "of Rome, till he has abjured his crucified God, and "embraced the worſhip of the ſun." The unfortunate Sain was ſacrificed to the anger of the Perſian monarch, who violated the law of nations by confining the ambaſſadors. Yet Choſroes was perſuaded to renounce at length the conqueſt of Conſtantinople, and a thouſand talents of gold, a thouſand talents of ſilver, a thouſand ſilk robes, a thouſand horſes, and a thouſand virgins, were ſpecified as the annual tribute of the Roman empire.

The interval allowed for collecting the treaſures, was diligently employed by Heraclius in preparations of war; but the exhauſted ſtate of the provinces compelled him to borrow the conſecrated wealth of the churches, under the ſolemn vow of reſtoring, with uſury, whatever he had been reduced to expend in the ſervice of religion and the empire. The ſtroke of time, and of the Barbarians, had exterminated the veterans who had ſupported the cauſe of Phocas, and the new

new levies of Heraclius were allured by the holy gold from every country of the eaſt and weſt. Two hundred thouſand pieces of gold were devoted to conciliate the friendſhip, or ſuſpend the hoſtilities of the chagan; and two days after the feſtival of Eaſter, the emperor aſſumed the garb of a warrior, and gave the ſignal of his departure. To the diſcretion of the patriarch and ſenate, he entruſted the power to ſave or ſurrender the city, if they ſhould be aſſailed in his abſence by the ſuperior forces of the enemy.

Had Heraclius raſhly encountered with his undiſciplined army the Perſian hoſt, encamped on the heights of Chalcedon, the victory of the enemy muſt probably have been the laſt day of the Roman empire. And it would have been equally imprudent for him to have advanced into Aſia, and left their numerous cavalry to intercept his convoys, and hung upon his rear. [A. D. 622.] But the Greeks were ſtill maſters of the ſea; a fleet of gallies and tranſports were aſſembled, and, after a tempeſtuous voyage, Heraclius landed his troops on the confines of Syria and Cilicia. His camp was pitched near Iſſus, on the ſame ground where Alexander had vanquiſhed the hoſt of Darius. The patience of the emperor was ſeverely exerciſed in reſtoring the diſcipline and exerciſes of his ſoldiers; whatever hardſhips he impoſed on his troops, he inflicted with honourable impartiality on himſelf; and the Romans were taught, without deſpiſing the enemy, to repoſe an implicit confidence in their own valour, and the wiſdom of their leader.

The Perſian troops, who had advanced towards

Cilicia, were compelled by the artful evolutions of Heraclius to hazard a general engagement; and the event of the day declared to the world that they were no longer invincible. Animated by fame and victory, Heraclius directed his march through the plains of Cappadocia, and eſtabliſhed the winter quarters of his army on the banks of the river Halys; but the reſtleſs and rapacious ſpirit of the Avars induced the emperor himſelf to repair to Conſtantinople.

As ſoon as he had ſoothed the turbulent temper of the Scythian Barbarians, Heraclius, leaving the Perſians to inſult for a while his capital, ſailed with a ſelect band of five thouſand ſoldiers, and landed at Trebizond. [A. D. 623.] The natives of Armenia readily embraced the ſupport of the Chriſtian champion; a bridge was thrown over the Araxes, and Haraclius, in the footſteps of Mark Antony, advanced towards the city of Tauris, the capital of one of the provinces of Media. Choſroes in perſon retired at the approach of the Roman emperor, and declined the generous alternative of peace or battle. The conqueſts of Heraclius were only ſuſpended by the winter ſeaſon; prudence determined his retreat into the province of Albania, and his tents were probably pitched in the plains of Mogan, the favourite encampment of the Oriental princes.

From the plains of Albania, the emperor appears to have followed the chain of the Hyrcanian mountains; to have deſcended into the province of Media; and to have carried his victorious arms as far as the cities of Caſbin and Iſpahan. The powers of Choſroes were recalled from the Nile and Boſphorus; the camp of the

the Romans was ſurrounded; and the braveſt veterans confeſſed their fears at the preſence of three formidable armies. "Be not terrified," ſaid the intrepid Heraclius, "by the multitude of your foes; with the aid "of heaven, one Roman may triumph over a thou- "ſand Barbarians; but if we devote our lives for the "ſalvation of our brethren, we ſhall obtain the crown "of martyrdom, and our immortal reward will be "liberally paid by God and poſterity." [A. D. 624.] Theſe magnanimous ſentiments were ſupported by the vigour of his actions; he repelled the attacks of the Perſians, and chaſed them from the field into the fortified cities of Media and Aſſyria. In the midſt of the winter, Salban was ſurpriſed by the activity of Heraclius. Sarbaraza, the general, eſcaped by a precipitate flight; but the ſatraps of Perſia, with their wives, and the flower of their martial youth, were either ſlain or made priſoners.

On the return of ſpring, Heraclius traverſed the mountains of Curdiſtan, and paſſed, without reſiſtance, the rapid ſtream of the Tigris. [A. D. 625.] Conſtantinople had already felt his ſucceſs by the retreat of the beſiegers; the ſenate were now informed that the Roman army, laden with ſpoils, halted under the walls of Amida. The bridges of the Euphrates were deſtroyed by the Perſians; but as ſoon as Heraclius had diſcovered a ford, they retired behind the Sarus. The impetuous courſe of that river, the banks lined with Barbarians, ineffectually oppoſed the progreſs of the emperor; a gigantic Perſian was ſlain by the hand of Heraclius himſelf; the victorious prince purſued his march

march to Sebaſte, in Cappadocia; and concluded, by his return to the coaſt of the Euxine, a triumphant expedition of three years.

The reſources of Choſroes were not yet exhauſted, or his ambition extinguiſhed by the victories of Heraclius. An army of fifty thouſand men, illuſtrious by the ornament and title of *golden ſpears*, was deſtined to march againſt the Roman emperor; a ſecond was ſtationed to prevent his junction with the troops of his brother Theodorus; and a third, under the command of Sarbar, was directed to beſiege Conſtantinople, and to ſecond the operations of the chagan, with whom Choſroes had concluded a treaty of partition. Sarbar had occupied the well-known camp of Chalcedon, and waited the arrival of his Scythian allies; [A. D. 626.] on the twenty-ninth of June, the chagan advanced at the head of an innumerable hoſt, and, after a month ſpent in fruitleſs negociations, on the thirty-firſt of July the whole city was inveſted. The magiſtrates of Conſtantinople in vain attempted to purchaſe the retreat of the chagan; he inſulted their deputies, and ſeated the Perſian envoys by the ſide of his throne. "You ſee," ſaid the haughty Barbarian to the patricians who ſtood before him, "the proofs of my perfect union with the great king; and his lieutenant is ready to ſend into my camp a ſelect band of three thouſand warriors. Preſume no longer to tempt your maſter with a partial and inadequate ranſom: your wealth and your city are the only preſents worthy of my acceptance. For yourſelves, I ſhall permit you to depart, each with an under garment

" and a ſhirt; and, at my intreaty, my friend Sarbar " will not refuſe a paſſage through his lines. Your " abſent prince, even now a captive or a fugitive, has " left Conſtantinople to its fate; nor can you eſcape " the arms of the Avars and the Perſians, unleſs you " could ſoar into the air like birds; unleſs like fiſhes " you could dive into the waves." But the inhabitants of Conſtantinople were animated by a reinforcement of twelve thouſand cuiraſſiers, ſent by Heraclius. The Perſians were prevented from croſſing the Boſphorus by a fleet of gallies; the Avars were repulſed; and the chagan, his allies diſcontented, and his proviſions exhauſted, was compelled reluctantly to give the ſignal of retreat.

Heraclius, after the detachment he had embarked for Conſtantinople, had maintained a defenſive war on the banks of the Phaſis. The deliverance of the capital, and a victory of his brother Theodorus, diſpelled his anxiety. To the hoſtilities of the Avars, he oppoſed an honourable alliance with the Turks. The hord of Chozars quitted the plains of Volga, for the mountains of Georgia. Near Teſtis, Heraclius received their prince Ziebel, whom he ſaluted with the appellation of ſon; and flattered with the promiſe of a fair and *auguſt* bride in his daughter Eudocia. In return, he obtained an immediate ſuccour of forty thouſand horſe, and negociated a ſtrong diverſion of the Turkiſh arms on the ſide of the Oxus. Sarbar ſtill maintained his ſtation of Chalcedon; but the jealouſy of Choſroes diſpatched a mandate to the ſecond in command, to ſend the head of the obnoxious general; the

diſpatches

diſpatches were delivered to Sarbar himſelf, who, after inſerting the names of four hundred officers, read them in council, and the Perſians declared that Choſroes was unworthy the ſceptre. A treaty was immediately concluded with Conſtantinople; and though Sarbar declined joining the ſtandard of the empire, yet he allowed Heraclius to purſue his deſigns without interruption.

The march of the Romans towards the Tigris, was ſtill attended by a formidable hoſt of Perſians, commanded by Rhazates. The caution of this general was ſuperceded by the peremptory command of Choſroes, to riſk the fate of Perſia in a deciſive battle. The ſpace once covered by the city of Nineveh, afforded a field for the operations of the hoſtile armies. [A. D. 627. December 1.] In that memorable conteſt, the valour of Heraclius ſurpaſſed that of his braveſt warriors.—Three gallant chiefs were ſlain by his ſword or lance; among theſe was Rhazates himſelf: and the ſight of his head ſcattered deſpair through the fainting ranks of the Perſians. Yet the ſoldiers of Choſroes maintained their ground from day-break to the eleventh hour; and the Perſian cavalry relinquiſhed not the field till the ſeventh hour of night, when, after pillaging their camp, they diſperſed, rather for want of orders than of reſolution. The diligence of Heraclius, in twenty-four hours after his victory, occupied the bridges of the great and leſſer Zab; and his irreſiſtible arms ſoon penetrated to Daſtagerd, a royal ſeat, which Choſroes had ornamented with the ſpoils of his tranſient conqueſts; and the treaſures of which exceeded the

the hopes, and ſatiated the avarice of the triumphant Romans.

Choſroes, inſtead of encountering his rival in perſon in the plains of Nineveh, had, at a ſecure diſtance, expected the event; and collected the ſcattered relics of the defeat. It was ſtill the opinion of his friends and foes, that he would bury himſelf in the ruins of his much-loved Daſtagerd; but the ſon of Hormouz reſigned his city and palace to the enemy, and eſcaped nine days before the arrival of the Romans, with Sira, his beſt beloved wife, and three of his concubines. [A. D. 627. December 29.] He entered with joy the fortifications of Cteſiphon; yet he ſtill doubted of his ſafety, till he had oppoſed the river Tigris to the purſuit of the Romans. Amidſt his triumphs, Heraclius continued to preſs his offers of peace; but the Perſian monarch derived a temporary confidence from the retreat of the emperor, and diſregarded too long the riſing murmurs of a nation, who complained that their lives and fortunes were ſacrificed to the obſtinacy of an old man. Conſcious of his approaching end, the aged king wiſhed to fix his ſceptre in the hand of Merdaza, the moſt favoured of his ſons: but Siroes, his eldeſt born, who gloried in the merit of his mother Sira, had already conſpired with the diſcontented nobles. Twenty-two ſatraps were tempted by the wealth and honours of a new reign; Siroes, with the aſſumed enſigns of royalty, appeared in the camp, and was ſaluted with the unanimous acclamations of the ſoldiers. [A. D. 628. February 25.]

The

The flight of Chosroes was intercepted; and the Greeks and modern Persians have more minutely, than credibly, related how the unhappy monarch was tortured and famished by his inhuman son. [February 28.] That son enjoyed the fruit of his crimes only eight months; in the space of four years the regal title was assumed by nine candidates, who disputed with the sword the fragments of the exhausted monarchy; and a state of anarchy prevailed throughout Persia, till her provinces, in about eight years, were reduced under the common yoke of the Arabian caliphs.

The welcome intelligence of the death of Chosroes, and the elevation of Siroes, soon reached the triumphant camp of the emperor; the ambassadors of the new monarch ratified, with the Romans, a treaty of peace and alliance. The standards which had fallen into the hands of the Persians, were restored; the subjects of Heraclius were redeemed from slavery; and the true wood of the holy cross was resigned to the importunate demands of the emperor. Each sovereign retired within the limits of his former dominions; and a war, which had wounded the vitals of the two empires, produced no change in their external and relative situation. Heraclius, after the exploits of six glorious campaigns, returned in triumph from Tauris to Constantinople; but while he enjoyed the acclamations of his subjects, an obscure town on the confines of Syria was pillaged by the Saracens. Some troops, sent to its relief, were cut into pieces; and this trifling occurrence

occurrence was the prelude of a mighty revolution.—Theſe robbers were the diſciples of Mahomet, who emerging from the deſert, in leſs than eight years acquired, by the ſword, thoſe provinces which had been reſcued from the Perſians by the valour of Heraclius.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SUCCESSION AND CHARACTERS OF THE GREEK EMPERORS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, FROM THE TIME OF HERACLIUS TO THE LATIN CONQUEST.

IN the ſucceeding part of this work will be contained the regular ſeries of the emperors from the days of Heraclius to the Latin conqueſt. After this abſtract of Byzantine hiſtory, the following nations will paſs before our eyes, and each will occupy the ſpace to which it is entitled by the degree of connection with the Roman world and the preſent age. I. The FRANKS, which appellation includes the Barbarians of France, Italy, and Germany; they were ſeparated from the Byzantine throne by the perſecution of images and their votaries; and their ſeparation prepared the reſtoration of the Roman empire in the Weſt. II. The ARABS, or SARACENS. Theſe, after reducing Syria, Egypt, and Africa, overthrew the monarchies of Perſia and Spain; but Conſtantinople and Europe were ſaved by the diviſion and decay of the empire of the caliphs. III. The BULGARIANS; IV. HUNGARIANS; and, V. RUSSIANS, who aſſaulted by ſea, or by land, the provinces and the capital. VI. The NORMANS, who founded a kingdom in Apulia and Sicily, and ſhook the throne of Conſtantinople. VII. The LATINS; the ſubjects of the pope, the nations of the Weſt, who enliſted under the croſs for the recovery of the holy ſepulchre.

ſepulchre. In theſe memorable cruſades, a fleet and army of French and Venetians were diverted from Syria to the Thracian Boſphorus; they aſſaulted the capital; they ſubverted the Greek monarchy; and a dynaſty of Latin princes were ſeated near threeſcore years on the throne of Conſtantinople. VIII. The GREEKS themſelves, during this period, muſt be conſidered as a foreign nation, the enemies, and again the ſovereigns of Conſtantinople; and the imperial ſeries will be continued from their reſtoration to the Turkiſh conqueſts. IX. The MOGULS and TARTARS. By the arms of Zingis and his deſcendants, the ſultans were overthrown, the caliphs fell, and the Cæſars trembled on their throne; and the victories of Timour ſuſpended the final ruin of the Byzantine empire above fifty years. X. The ſecond dynaſty of the Turkiſh nation, which emerged in the eleventh century from the Scythian wilderneſs. The Ottomans, who derived that name from Othman, became the ſcourge and terror of Europe. Conſtantinople was beſieged and taken; and the title of the Roman empire in the Eaſt extinguiſhed. Thence returning to the Weſt, the ruins of ancient Rome will terminate our labour and inquiry.

Heraclius, after the death of his firſt wife Eudocia, had contracted an inceſtuous marriage with his niece Martina. The ſuperſtition of the Greeks beheld the judgment of heaven in the diſeaſes of the father, and the deformity of his offspring. Conſtantine, his eldeſt ſon, enjoyed the title of Auguſtus; but the weakneſs of his conſtitution required a colleague; Heracleonas, the ſon of Martina, was aſſociated to the purple;

[A. D. 638. July 4.] the concord of the royal brothers was affectedly displayed by the younger leaning on the elder; and the name of Martina was mingled in the venal acclamations of the people. [A. D. 639.] Heraclius survived this association about two years; [A. D. 641. February.] his last testament declared his two sons the equal heirs of the Eastern empire; and enjoined them to honour Martina as their mother and sovereign.

The aspiring Martina immediately assumed the ensigns of royalty; but she was compelled to descend from the throne by the voice of freedom and superstition; as a woman, she was excluded from government, and retired within the female apartments of the palace. The death of Constantine, who, in the thirtieth year of his age, and after a reign of one hundred and three days, expired, [A. D. 641. May 25.] not without suspicion of poison, revived the ambition of Martina. She resumed the reins of government; but the incestuous widow of Heraclius was universally abhorred; the protestations of her son, then only fifteen years of age were disregarded; and the late emperor, on his death-bed, had dispatched a trusty servant to arm the troops and provinces of the East, in the defence of his two helpless children; Valentin was successful; and from the camp of Chalcedon, he demanded the punishment of those who had poisoned Constantine, and insisted on the restoration of the lawful heir to the empire. The citizens of Constantinople compelled Heracleonas to appear in the pulpit of St. Sophia, with the eldest of the royal orphans. Constans alone was saluted as emperor, and

was

was crowned with the ſolemn benediction of the patriarch. A more bloody taſk was reſerved for the ſenate, who were ſtrengthened by the conſent of the ſoldiers and the people. They condemned Martina and Heracleonas to amputation, the former of her tongue, the latter of his noſe; and after this cruel execution, they were permitted to linger through the remainder of their days in exile and oblivion.

A. D. 641. September.] Conſtans aſcended the throne when only twelve years old: his early reſpect for the ſenate was quickly eraſed by the prejudices of the age, and the habits of deſpotiſm. His jealouſy induced him to impoſe on his brother Theodoſius, the ceremony of holy orders; but though thus diſqualified for the purple, that unhappy youth could not eſcape the ſuſpicions of the tyrant, who at laſt removed him by death. But the imprecations of the people purſued the royal aſſaſſin; and in the fulneſs of his power, he was driven from his capital into perpetual exile. After paſſing a winter at Athens, he ſailed to Tarentum, viſited Rome, and fixed his reſidence at Syracuſe. But his ſteps were attended by remorſe; and the viſionary ſhade of his brother continually obtruded itſelf. Odious to himſelf and mankind, he periſhed, in the capital of Sicily, by domeſtic treaſon. A ſervant, who waited in the bath, after pouring warm water on his head, ſtruck him violently with the vaſe; he fell, ſtunned with the blow, and was ſuffocated with the water. The troops of Sicily haſtily inveſted with the purple an obſcure youth, whoſe beauty ſeems to have been his ſole recommendation.

But Conſtans had left in the Byzantine palace three ſons; and the cauſe of Conſtantine, the eldeſt, was readily embraced by his ſubjects, who contributed with zeal and alacrity to chaſtiſe the preſumption of a province, which had uſurped the rights of the ſenate and the people. [A. D. 668.] The emperor ſailed from the Helleſpont with a powerful fleet; the defeat of the Sicilian tyrant was eaſy; and his beauteous head was expoſed in the hippodrome. Conſtantine returned in triumph to his capital; and the growth of his beard during the Sicilian voyage was announced to the Grecian world by the familiar appellation of Pogonatus. But his reign, like that of his predeceſſor, was ſtained with fraternal diſcord; he had beſtowed on his two brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius, the title of Auguſtus. The royal youths demanded a partition of the ſovereignty; their adherents were puniſhed; the imprudent brothers were pardoned; but a repetition of the ſame offence deprived the princes of their titles and noſes. Pogonatus, in the cloſe of his life, was anxious to eſtabliſh the right of primogeniture; he offered, on the ſhrine of St. Peter, the hair of his two ſons, Juſtinian and Heraclius, as a ſymbol of their ſpiritual adoption by the pope; but the elder was alone exalted to the rank of Auguſtus, and the aſſurance of the empire.

After the deceaſe of Pogonatus, Juſtinian II. aſcended the throne; [A. D. 685.] and diſhonoured by his youthful vices the name of the celebrated lawgiver. For ten years he enjoyed the ſufferings, and braved the revenge of his ſubjects. Leontius, a general

ral of reputation, was drawn from a dungeon to aſſume the government of Greece; he obſerved, with a ſigh, that inevitable death would purſue his footſteps; his friends replied, that the tyrant was univerſally abhorred; and that two hundred thouſand patriots expected only the voice of a leader. The night was choſen for their deliverance; the præfect was ſlain: the priſons were forced open; and Juſtinian was dragged into the hippodrome, where the clamours of the people demanded his inſtant death; but the pity of Leontius preſerved the ſon of his benefactor; the amputation of his noſe was imperfectly performed; [A. D. 695.] and he was baniſhed to the lonely ſettlement of Cherſonæ, in Crim-Tartary.

After three years, Leontius was dethroned by the rebel Apſimar, who aſſumed the name of Tiberius; the uſurper regarded with terror the exiled Juſtinian, whoſe vices had ſtimulated the complaints of the Cherſonites. From the dangerous ſhore, with a band of deſperate followers, the imperial fugitive eſcaped to the hord of the Chozars, who had pitched their tents between the Tanais and the Boryſthenes. The khan received him with reſpect, and beſtowed on him his ſiſter Theodora with Phanagoria, a city on the Aſiatic ſide of the lake Mæotis. But the chozar was ſoon tempted by the gold of Conſtantinople; and Juſtinian would have been aſſaſſinated, had not the ſecret been revealed by the affection of Theodora. The ſon of Pogonatus ſtrangled the emiſſaries of the khan with his own hands, ſent back Theodora to her brother, and embarked on the Euxine in ſearch of new alſies. His veſſel was aſſaulted by a violent tempeſt; and one of

his pious companions adviſed him to deſerve the mercy of God by a vow of forgiveneſs, if he ſhould be reſtored to his throne. "Of forgiveneſs!" replied the intrepid tyrant: "may I periſh this inſtant—may the "Almighty whelm me in the waves—if I conſent to "ſpare a ſingle head of my enemies!" He landed in the mouth of the Danube; retired to the Bulgarians; and purchaſed, by ſplendid promiſes, the aid of Terbelis, a pagan prince. The two princes beſieged Conſtantinople with ſixteen thouſand horſe. Apſimar was diſmayed by the ſudden appearance of his rival; the misfortunes of their hereditary ſovereign excited the pity of the multitude; and Juſtinian was introduced into Conſtantinople by the diligence of his adherents.

After rewarding Terbelis, he gratified his revenge, which he had nouriſhed even amidſt the ſtorms of the Euxine; before their execution, he ſtood for an hour on the necks of Leontius and Apſimar. [A. D. 705.] During the ſix years of his new reign, the rack, the axe, and the cord, were inceſſantly employed. The Cherſonites were peculiarly deſtined to experience his vengeance; but after a ſeries of cruelties, too inhuman to relate, the khan of the Chozars renounced the cauſe of his brother; the exiles of the provinces aſſembled in Tauris; and Philippicus was inveſted with the purple. [A. D. 711.] The tyrant, deſerted by his Barbarian guards, received without dread the mortal ſtroke; and the death of his ſon Tiberius, extinguiſhed, after a reign of one hundred years, the race of Heraclius.

Philippicus abuſed, during more than two years, the authority

authority he had acquired by the death of the tyrant. But ſome bold conſpirators in the diſorder of a feaſt ſurpriſed, blinded, and depoſed the intoxicated monarch: [A. D. 713.] but the traitors were diſappointed of their reward, and the voice of the people promoted Artemius, who aſſumed the title of Anaſtaſius, to the imperial dignity. [A. D. 716.] Three years of a turbulent reign had ſcarce elapſed, before Theodoſius, an obſcure officer of the revenue, was reluctantly inveſted with the purple, in a mutiny of the fleet. Anaſtaſius reſigned the ſceptre; and Theodoſius, the conqueror, in his turn, was compelled to yield to the aſcendant of Leo, the general of the Oriental troops; yet the laſt days of Theodoſius were honourable and ſecure, while the reſtleſs ſpirit of Anaſtaſius tempted him to riſk and loſe his life in a treaſonable conſpiracy.

A. D. 718.] The primitive name of Leo was Conon; and it is agreed, that he was a native of Iſauria. His firſt ſervice was in the guards of Juſtinian; and, his valour and dexterity gradually raiſed him to the command of the Anatolian legions, and, by the ſuffrage of the ſoldiers, to the empire of the Eaſt. In this dangerous elevation, amidſt religious innovations, he conducted himſelf with temper and firmneſs; and after a reign of twenty-four years, peaceably expired in the palace of Conſtantinople.

A. D. 741.] Conſtantine the Fifth was the ſon and ſucceſſor of Leo, and derived the name of Copronymus from the pollution of his baptiſmal font. His manners were diſſolute, and his temper was cruel; but his enemies allow his courage and activity at the head of his legions; and in a various reign of thirty-four years, he

triumphed by sea and land, on the Euphrates and the Danube, in civil and Barbarian war.

A. D. 775.] Leo the Fourth, the son of the fifth, and the father of the sixth Constantine, was of a feeble constitution both of mind and body. He associated to the empire the young Constantine, with the unanimous wishes of his subjects; but the five sons of Copronymus, by a second marriage, endeavoured to disturb the peace of the empire. Their treasonable attempts were twice pardoned; a third conspiracy was punished with amputation, and banishment to Athens; even in this retreat their restless spirits prompted them to listen to a Sclavonian chief, who offered to break their prison, and lead them to Constantinople; the people of Athens appear to have interposed; and the sons of Copronymus were lost in oblivion and darkness.

A. D. 780.] The empress Irene was declared, by the testament of Leo, the guardian of the Roman world, and of her son Constantine the Sixth, who was no more than ten years of age. During his childhood, Irene faithfully discharged the office she was entrusted with; the mature age of the emperor rendered the maternal yoke grievous; his favourites stimulated his desire for power, and it was determined to banish Irene to Sicily. The penetration of the empress discovered the design; the project was disconcerted; the rash advisers punished; and the prince compelled to submit to the ascendant of his mother, who exacted an oath of fidelity to herself alone. A tumult of the Armenian guards encouraged the general declaration that Constantine the Sixth was the lawful emperor. He ascended the throne, and dis-

miſſed Irene to a life of ſolitude and repoſe. The precarious attachment of the Armenians was ſoon alienated by the imprudent rigour of the emperor; Irene was reſtored; and the unfortunate Conſtantine was deprived of his eyes by his unnatural and ambitious mother. [A. D. 792.]

Irene for ſeveral years maintained her reign with external ſplendour; but the black ingratitude of thoſe whom ſhe had raiſed to the higheſt dignities of the ſtate, undermined her power. [A. D. 802 Oct. 31.] The great treaſurer, Nicephorus, was ſecretly inveſted with the purple; and the empreſs, after in vain ſoliciting a decent and honourable retreat, was compelled, in her exile to the iſle of Leſbos, to earn a ſcanty ſubſiſtence by the labours of her diſtaff.

The character of Nicephorus was ſtained with the three odious vices of hypocriſy, ingratitude, and avarice. Unſkilful and unfortunate in war, he was vanquiſhed by the Saracens, and ſlain by the Bulgarians. [A. D. 811. July 25.] His ſon Stauracius eſcaped from the field with a mortal wound; but the ſix months that he ſurvived were ſufficient to prove, that, with the kingdom, he inherited the vices of his father. Michael, who had married his ſiſter Procopia, poſſeſſed the wiſhes and eſteem of the palace and city. The jealouſy of Stauracius conſpired againſt the life of his ſucceſſor, and exaſperated the people; and the ſon of Nicephorus, before he ſunk into the grave, was compelled to implore the clemency of his new ſovereign.

A. D. 811. Oct. 2.] The virtues of Michael were adapted to the ſhade of private life; but were unequal to the taſk of controuling his ambitious ſubjects, or repreſſing

preſſing the invaſions of the victorious Barbarians. The maſculine ſpirit of his wife Procopia, who preſumed to direct the diſcipline of the camp, awakened the indignation of the ſoldiers. A diſaffected army aſſerted the right of Leo the Armenian; the humanity of Michael prevented, by a voluntary reſignation, the calamities of civil war; and the imperial monk, ſeparated from his power and wife, enjoyed the comforts of ſolitude and religion above thirty-two years.

A. D. 811. July 11.] Leo the Fifth had been early educated in a camp; he introduced into his civil government the rigour of military diſcipline; but if his ſeverity was ſometimes dangerous to the innocent, it was always formidable to the guilty. Michael, his companion, had contributed towards the elevation of the emperor, and he ſoon conſpired againſt his authority. His criminal deſigns had been frequently detected, and repeatedly pardoned by the gratitude of Leo; he was at length confined and condemned; but a more ſucceſsful conſpiracy releaſed him from his priſon, and terminated the life and reign of Leo, who was ſlain by the inexorable aſſaſſin at the foot of the altar.

Michael, who from a defect in his ſpeech was ſurnamed the Stammerer, had been delivered from a dungeon and impending death to diſplay his depraved and ignoble manners on a throne. [A. D. 820. Dec. 25.] His title was diſputed by Thomas the Cappadocian; he tranſported into Europe an army of fourſcore thouſand Barbarians from the banks of the Tigris and the ſhores of the Caſpian; he formed the ſiege of Conſtantinople; but his camp was aſſaulted by a Bulgarian king, and Thomas had the misfortune

misfortune to fall into the power of the conqueror. The hands and feet of the rebel were amputated; and, mounted on an aſs, he was led through the ſtreets of the city, which he ſprinkled with his blood. Michael, on the death of his firſt wife, had drawn from a convent Euphroſyne, the daughter of Conſtantine the Sixth, who ſtipulated that her children ſhould ſhare equally the empire with their elder brother; but the nuptials of Michael and Euphroſyne were barren; and ſhe was content with the title of the mother of Theophilus, his ſon and ſucceſſor.

A. D. 829.] The valour of Theophilus, though often felt by his enemies, was raſh and fruitleſs; his juſtice, though acknowledged by his ſubjects, was arbitrary and cruel. His five expeditions againſt the Saracens were concluded by a ſignal overthrow; and from his military toils, he only derived the ſurname of the Unfortunate. His jealous tyranny ſacrificed a brother and a prince to the future ſafety of his throne. A Perſian, of the race of Saſſanides, had died in exile at Conſtantinople; his ſon was educated in the Byzantine court, a Chriſtian and a ſoldier. He received the hand of the emperor's ſiſter, and the command of thirty thouſand Perſians, who, like his father, had fled from the Mahometan conquerors. Theſe troops wiſhed to place their general on the throne; but the loyal Theophobus rejected their offers, and eſcaped from their hands to the palace of his royal brother; but inſtead of engaging the confidence, he excited the jealouſy of the emperor, exaſperated by envy and diſeaſe. He feared the dangerous virtues which might oppreſs the weakneſs and infancy of his wife and ſon. He demanded

manded the head of the Perſian; and as he received it, "Thou art," ſaid he, "no longer Theophobus;" and ſinking on his couch, he added, "Soon, too ſoon, I "ſhall be no more Theophilus."

A. D. 842. Jan. 20.] The laſt will of Theophilus entruſted his widow Theodora with the guardianſhip of the empire and her ſon Michael, then only in the fifth year of his age. After a prudent adminiſtration of thirteen years, the empreſs perceived the decline of her influence; but inſtead of conſpiring againſt the government of her ſon, ſhe retired into ſolitude, deploring the vices, and the inevitable ruin of the unworthy youth. Michael the Third had rejected the authority of his mother; and he ſtudiouſly imitated the ignoble purſuits of Nero, and the licentious pleaſures of Elagabalus; he delighted in the amuſements of the theatre, and devoted himſelf to the indulgence of luſt and intemperance; as contemptible as he was odious, the ſon of Theophilus had incurred the enmity of every worthy citizen. In the thirtieth year of his age, and in the hour of intoxication and ſleep, Michael the Third was murdered in his chamber by the founder of a new dynaſty, whom the emperor himſelf had raiſed to an equality of rank and power.

A. D. 867. Sept. 24.] Baſil, the Macedonian, derived his deſcent from a younger branch of the Arſacides, the former rivals of Rome. Two of theſe had retired to the court of Leo the Firſt, and experienced a hoſpitable ſettlement in the province of Macedonia. Their ſplendour was inſenſibly clouded by time and poverty; and the father of Baſil was reduced to a ſmall farm, which he cultivated with his own hands. He had married

married a widow of Adrianople, who counted among her anceſtors the great Conſtantine; but Baſil was ſcarcely born, before he was ſwept away, with his family and city, by an inundation of the Bulgarians.—Educated as a ſlave in the ſevere ſervice of the Barbarians, he acquired a hardineſs of body and flexibility of mind which promoted his future elevation. He ſhared the deliverance of the Roman captives, who broke their chains, marched through Bulgaria to the ſhores of the Euxine, defeated two armies of Barbarians, and embarked in the veſſels prepared for their reception for Conſtantinople. He was introduced to the ſervice of a couſin and nameſake of the emperor Theophilus; attracted the favour of a rich widow of Patra, whoſe bounty he employed in the education of his brothers; and, ſtill as the ſervant of Theophilus, overthrew a celebrated wreſtler of the Bulgarians, and tamed a beautiful but vicious horſe, which had been condemned as unmanageable. He married a concubine of the emperor Michael, and her place was ſupplied by the ſiſter of the new favourite, who was raiſed to the dignity of chamberlain, aſſociated to the purple, and by the murder of Michael eſtabliſhed himſelf on the throne.

The ſolid praiſe of Baſil is drawn from the ruined ſtate of his kingdom at his acceſſion, and the flouriſhing condition of it at his death. His application was indefatigable, his temper cool, his underſtanding vigorous and deciſive. Though he was not endowed with the ſpirit and the talents of a warrior, yet under his reign the Roman arms were again formidable to the Barbarians;

rians; but his principal merit was in the civil administration of the finances and of the laws. His glorious reign was terminated by an accident in the chace; a furious ſtag entangled his horns in the belt of Baſil, and raiſed him from his horſe; he was reſcued by an attendant, who ſlew the animal; but the fall, or fever, exhauſted the ſtrength of the aged monarch, and he expired, in the palace, amidſt the tears of his family and people.

A. D. 886. March 21.] Conſtantine, the eldeſt ſon of Baſil, had died before his father; Stephen, the youngeſt, was content with the honours of a patriarch and a ſaint; Leo and Alexander, the two other ſons, were alike inveſted with the purple; but the power was ſolely exerciſed by the elder brother, Leo the Sixth, ſurnamed the *Philoſopher*. The only reaſon to be diſcovered for this ſage appellation is, that the ſon of Baſil appeared leſs ignorant than the greater part of his contemporaries in church and ſtate, and that ſeveral books of profane and eccleſiaſtical ſcience were compoſed in his name, or by his pen. In his three firſt alliances, his nuptial bed was unfruitful; the emperor required a female companion, and the empire a legitimate heir. The beautiful Zoe was introduced as a concubine, and on the birth of Conſtantine, her lover declared his intention of legitimating the mother and the child. But a fourth marriage was a ſcandal as yet unknown to the Chriſtians of the Eaſt; the patriarch Nicolas refuſed his bleſſing; the imperial baptiſm was procured by a promiſe of ſeparation ſoon broken; and the

the ſubſequent edict of Conſtantine, which condemned the future ſcandal of fourth marriages, left a tacit imputation on his own birth.

A. D. 911. May 11.] Conſtantine the Seventh derived the appellation of *Porphyrogenitus*, from the apartment of the Byzantine palace which was reſerved for the uſe of the pregnant empreſſes, and lined with *porphyry* or *purple*. On his father's death, he was but ſix years old; and the weakneſs of his ſucceſſive guardians or agents, tempted the ambition of a ſoldier, who, from an obſcure origin, had raiſed himſelf to the command of the naval forces of the empire. Romanus Lecapenus, with a victorious fleet, ſailed from the mouth of the Danube into the harbour of Conſtantinople, and was hailed as the deliverer of the people and the guardian of the prince. But Romanus ſoon diſdained the ſubordinate powers of a miniſter, and aſſumed, with the titles of Cæſar and Auguſtus, the full independence of royalty, which he held near five and twenty years. [A. D. 919. Dec. 24.] His three ſons, Chriſtopher, Stephen, and Conſtantine, were ſucceſſively adorned with the ſame honours, and the lawful emperor was degraded from the firſt to the fifth rank in this college of princes; but his ſtudious temper and retirement diſarmed the jealouſy of Lecapenus, and the grandſon of Baſil improved a ſcanty allowance by his ſkill as an artiſt, and by the ſale of his pictures.

The fall of Romanus was occaſioned by his own vices and thoſe of his children. After the deceaſe of Chriſtopher his eldeſt ſon, the two ſurviving brothers quarrelled with each other, and conſpired againſt their

father. They ſurpriſed him in the palace, and conveyed him; in the habit of a monk, to a ſmall iſland in the Propontis, which was peopled by a religious community. This domeſtic revolution excited a tumult, which reſtored Porphyrogenitus; and the ſons of Romanus were embarked for the ſame iſland as they had previouſly tranſported their father to. [A. D. 945. Jan. 27.] In the fortieth year of his reign, Conſtantine the Seventh obtained the poſſeſſion of the Eaſtern world; but while he indulged the habits of intemperance and ſloth, he relinquiſhed the reins of government to the caprice of his wife Helena, the daughter of the baniſhed Romanus; yet the birth, misfortunes, learning, and innocence of Conſtantine, endeared him to the Greeks; fifteen years afterwards, the ceremony of his funeral was mourned by the unfeigned tears of his ſubjects; before the proceſſion moved towards the imperial ſepulchre, an herald proclaimed this awful admonition, "Ariſe, O king of the world, and obey the "ſummons of the King of kings."

A. D. 959. Nov. 15.] The death of Conſtantine was imputed to poiſon; and his ſon, Romanus, who derived that name from his maternal grandfather, aſcended the throne at Conſtantinople. While his two brothers, Nicephorus and Leo, triumphed over the Saracens, the hours of the emperor were devoted to the amuſements of the circus, and the pleaſures of the table. Though in ſtrength and beauty he was conſpicuous above the race of men, yet theſe perfections were inſufficient to fix the love of Theophano, his wife, a woman of baſe origin, maſculine ſpirit, and flagitious

flagitious manners; and after a reign of four years, ſhe mingled for her huſband the ſame deadly draught which ſhe had compoſed for his father.

Romanus the younger left two ſons, Baſil the Second, and Conſtantine the Ninth; and two daughters, Theophano and Anne. [A. D. 963.] The eldeſt was given to the ſecond emperor of the Weſt; the younger became the wife of Wolodomir, great duke and apoſtle of Ruſſia. After the death of her huſband, the empreſs Theophano in vain endeavoured to reign alone; and conſcious of the neceſſity of a protector, ſhe threw herſelf into the arms of Nicephorus Phocas, who united in the popular opinion the double merit of a hero and a ſaint. In the former character, his qualifications were genuine and ſplendid; but his religion was of a more ambiguous caſt; and his wiſh to retire from the world, was a convenient maſk for his dark and dangerous ambition. He marched to Conſtantinople, avowed his correſpondence with the empreſs, and, without degrading her ſons, aſſumed the title of Auguſtus, with the pre-eminence of power. In a reign of ſix years, he provoked the hatred of his ſubjects, who accuſed him of hypocriſy and avarice; yet Nicephorus ſtrictly applied the revenue to the public uſe; each ſpring he marched in perſon againſt the Saracens; and every Roman might compute the employment of his taxes in triumphs, conqueſts, and the ſecurity of the Eaſtern barrier.

A.D. 969, Dec. 25.] John Zimiſces, a noble Armenian, whoſe ſtature was below the ordinary ſtandard, but whoſe body was endowed with ſtrength, beauty, and

the ſoul of a hero, had promoted the elevation of Nicephorus, and had been rewarded with diſgrace and exile. But Zimiſces was ranked among the numerous lovers of the empreſs; by her interceſſion he was permitted to reſide in the neighbourhood of the capital, and Theophano conſented with alacrity to the death of her huſband. The conſpirators were introduced into the palace; the head of Nicephorus was ſhewn to the populace; and the Armenian was proclaimed emperor of the Eaſt. At the exhortation of the patriarch he ſeparated himſelf from his more criminal aſſociate, and Theophano was condemned to lament her crimes in exile. The perſonal valour and activity of Zimiſces were ſignalized on the Danube and the Tigris; and by his double triumph over the Ruſſians and Saracens, he deſerved the title of ſaviour of the empire, and conqueror of the Eaſt. But he had imprudently, in his laſt return from Syria, expreſſed his indignation at the wealth and property of the eunuchs, and the death of Zimiſces is ſtrongly marked with poiſon.

A. D. 976.] During this uſurpation of twelve years, the two lawful emperors, Baſil and Conſtantine, had grown to the age of manhood; but the premature death of Zimiſces, who faithfully adminiſtered the empire, without violating the right of ſucceſſion, was a loſs rather than a benefit, to the ſons of Romanus.—Conſtantine continued to indulge the pleaſures of youth, and to reject the cares of government; but his elder brother felt the impulſe of genius, and the deſire of action. Conſtantinople and the provinces acknowledged Baſil as their ſovereign; but Aſia was oppreſſed by

by two veteran generals, Phocas and Sclerus. The death of the firſt in the front of battle, the ſubmiſſion of the laſt at the foot of the throne, confirmed the authority of Baſil, who diſplayed his valour in frequent expeditions againſt the Saracens, and by the final deſtruction of the kingdom of Bulgaria. Yet the victorious prince was deteſted by his ſubjects; his rigour, and his contempt of the laws and arts, proclaimed the ſtern and ignorant ſoldier. In the ſixty-eighth year of his age, the martial ſpirit of Baſil prompted him in perſon to undertake a war againſt the Saracens of Sicily, but he was prevented by death; and he expired with the bleſſings of the clergy, and the curſes of the people; [A. D. 1025. Dec.] his feeble brother Conſtantine ſurvived him about three years, and employed his power and time in the careful ſettlement of the ſucceſſion.

After the death of Conſtantine the Ninth, the ſceptre devolved on Romanus Argyrus, a patrician of graceful perſon and fair reputation, who had married Zoe, the ſecond daughter of the late emperor. [A. D. 1028. Nov. 12.] This abandoned woman had preferred to the pleaſures of her bed Michael, an handſome Paphlagonian, and her favourite chamberlain. Zoe ſoon juſtified the Roman maxim, that every adultereſs is capable of poiſoning her huſband; and the death of Romanus was inſtantly followed by the ſcandalous marriage and elevation of Michael the Fourth. But the expectations of Zoe were diſappointed; the health and reaſon of Michael were ſoon impaired by epileptic fits,

and remorſe of conſcience; his brother John, the eunuch, governed in his name with abſolute ſway; an obſcure nephew of the emperor's was adorned with the purple; and Michael, ſurnamed Calaphates, from his father's occupation in careening of veſſels, was adopted by Zoe, and ſucceeded on the death of his uncle to the throne. [A. D. 1041. Dec. 14.] The only act of his ſhort reign was his ingratitude to the eunuch and the empreſs. The diſgrace of the firſt was grateful to the public; but the exile of the laſt created a tumult which continued for three days. Zoe was reſtored from her priſon, and Theodora, her eldeſt ſiſter, was called from her monaſtery to the imperial authority. [A. D. 1042. April 1.] The ſon of Calaphates was puniſhed with the loſs of his eyes, and the royal ſiſters for two months gave audience to the ambaſſadors, and preſided in the ſenate. [A. D. 1042. June 11.] Theodora remained averſe to marriage, but Zoe conſented to receive a third huſband, who reigned as Conſtantine the Tenth, but whoſe ſurname *Monomachus*, expreſſed his valour and victory in ſome public or private quarrel. The health of Conſtantine was broken by the gout; and the moſt memorable tranſaction of his reign was his dividing, with the conſent of Zoe, the nuptial bed with a widow of the name of Selerena. Yet he ſurvived both his wives, and on his death, for nineteen months, Theodora reſumed the adminiſtration of the empire; [A. D. 1054. Nov. 30.] her miniſters perſuaded her to nominate for her ſucceſſor Michael the Sixth, a decrepit veteran; [A. D. 1056.

1056. Aug. 22.] whilſt he aſcended the throne, Theodora ſunk into the grave, and with her expired the Macedonian dynaſty.

The family of the Comneni had long been tranſported from Italy to Aſia. Manuel, in the reign of the ſecond Baſil, had contributed to appeaſe the troubles of the Eaſt. He left in a tender age two ſons, Iſaac and John, whom he bequeathed to the gratitude of his ſovereign. The youths were carefully educated, and rapidly advanced to the command of armies and provinces. Their fraternal union doubled their reputation. The ſoldiers diſdained the elevation of Michael as an inſult; and their leaders, by general conſent, approved Iſaac Comnenus; the fate of Michael was decided in a ſingle battle; but the humanity of the Comnenian allowed his adverſary to ſeclude himſelf in a monaſtery. Yet Iſaac had ſcarce received the diadem, before the decline of his health admoniſhed him to provide a ſucceſſor. Inſtead of leaving the empire as a marriage portion to his daughter, his reaſon decided the preference of his brother John. The obſtinate refuſal of John was attended by the nomination of Conſtantine Ducas, a friend of the Comnenian houſe; and Iſaac in a monaſtic habit ſurvived two years his voluntary abdication.

A. D. 1059. Dec. 25.] Conſtantine the Eleventh but ill approved the diſcernment of Iſaac; indifferent, or ignorant of the duties of a ſovereign and a warrior, he was only anxious to ſecure, at the expence of the republic, the power and proſperity of his children. His three ſons, Michael the Seventh, Andronicus the

First, and Constantine the Twelfth, were invested, in a tender age, with the equal title of Augustus; and the succession was speedily opened by their father's death. [A. D. 1067. May.] His widow Eudocia was entrusted with the administration, under a solemn engagement of abstaining from second nuptials; but before the expiration of seven months, Eudocia raised Romanus Diogenes to her bed and her throne. [A. D. 1067. August.] The friends of the young princes were diverted from their opposition by the tears of their mother, and the assurances of the fidelity of the guardian. The defeat and captivity of Romanus by the Turks, inflicted a deadly wound on the monarchy of the East. When he was released from the chains of the Sultan, he vainly sought his wife and his subjects. The former was thrust into a monastry; and the latter had embraced the rigid maxim of the civil law, that a prisoner, in the hands of his enemy, is deprived of all the public and private rights of a citizen. The fruitless enterprizes of Romanus were succeeded by submission; and his submission, contrary to the faith of his capitulation, was attended by a cruel death. [A. D. 1071. August.] Under the triple reign of the house of Ducas, the two younger brothers were reduced to the vain honours of the purple; and the elder, Michael, surnamed *Parapinaces*, by his avarice and weakness, had incurred the hatred and contempt of his subjects. Two generals, of the same name of Nicephorus, but distinguished by the surnames of Bryennius and Botaniates, appeared at the head of the European and Asiatic legions, and assumed the purple

at

at Adrianople and Nice. Bryennius ſoon diſplayed his ſtandards before the gates of Conſtantinople; but his troops were repulſed by the inhabitants; while Botaniates advanced with ſlow and cautious ſteps, and was received with the acclamations of the people, and the approbation of the ſenate. The feeble emperor, applauding his own moderation, reſigned the purple; and was rewarded with the monaſtic habit, and the title of archbiſhop of Epheſus. He left a ſon, Conſtantine, born and educated in the purple, and a daughter of the houſe of Ducas afterwards intermarried with, and confirmed the ſucceſſion of, the Comnenian dynaſty.

A. D. 1078. March 25.] Alexius, the nephew of the emperor Iſaac, and the third ſon of John Comnenus, who had refuſed the imperial ſceptre, had adhered to the cauſe of Michael, till he was deſerted by the world and himſelf. In his firſt interview with Botaniates, "Prince," ſaid Alexius, "my duty ren-"dered me your enemy; the decrees of God, and of "the people, have made me your ſubject; judge of "my future loyalty by my paſt oppoſition." The ſucceſſor of Michael entertained him with eſteem and confidence, and his valour was ſucceſsfully employed againſt Urſel, Bryennius, and Baſilacius, three rebels, who diſturbed the peace of the empire: but the refuſal of Alexius to march againſt a fourth rebel, the huſband of his ſiſter, deſtroyed the memory of his paſt ſervices; and Alexius, apprehenſive of the indignation of the emperor, retired with his elder brother Iſaac, and erected the ſtandard of civil war. The ſol-

diers, who had gradually been assembled in the neighbourhood of the capital, devoted themselves to the cause of a victorious and injured leader; Alexius, with the applause of the army, and by the generous consent of his elder brother, was invested with the imperial purple. Constantinople was surprised; the aged Botaniates disappeared in a monastery; and the family of the Comneni were again seated on the throne.

A. D. 1081. April 1.] The disorders of the times were the misfortunes and glory of Alexius. At the head of his armies, he was bold in action, skilful in stratagem, patient of fatigue, ready to improve his advantages, and rising from his defeats with inexhaustible vigour. In his intercourse with the Latins, he was artful and discerning; and he balanced, with superior policy, the interests and the passions of the champions of the first crusade; but the patience of Constantinople was fatigued by the length and severity of his reign; and before Alexius expired, he had lost the love and reverence of his subjects. Even the sincerity of his moral and religious virtues was suspected by the persons who had passed their lives in his familiar confidence. When pressed by his wife Irene, in his last hours, to alter the succession, he breathed a pious ejaculation on the vanity of the world; and the indignant empress replied, "you die, as you have lived,—"AN HYPOCRITE."

A. D. 1118.] John, the elder son of Alexius, succeeded to the throne; and in the same person the claims of primogeniture and merit were fortunately united. His younger brother Isaac, was content with the

the title of *Sebaſtocrator*, which approached the dignity, without ſharing the power, of the emperor. Feared by his nobles, and beloved by his people, during the government of John, the penalty of death was aboliſhed in the Roman empire. Chaſte, frugal, and abſtemious, he revived the virtues of Marcus Antoninus. The only defect of this accompliſhed character, was the frailty of noble minds, the love of arms. From Conſtantinople to Antioch and Aleppo, he frequently marched at the head of a victorious army; and the Latins were aſtoniſhed at the ſuperior ſpirit and proweſs of a Greek; but as, after a reign of twenty-five years, he hunted the wild boar, in a ſtruggle with the furious animal, a poiſoned arrow from his quiver wounded his hand, and proved fatal to the beſt and greateſt of the Comnenian princes.

A. D. 1143, April 8.] The judgment of John, of his two ſons Iſaac and Manuel, preferred the younger; and the choice of the dying prince was ratified by the approbation of the ſoldiers. Iſaac ſoon acquieſced in the determination, and acquired the title of Sebaſtocrator. The thirty-ſeven years reign of Manuel is filled by a perpetual warfare againſt the Turks, the Chriſtians, and the Hords of the Wilderneſs beyond the Danube. The ſtory of the perſonal exploits of the emperor may induce a reaſonable ſuſpicion of the veracity of the Greeks. Such was his ſtrength and exerciſe in arms, that Raymond, ſurnamed the Hercules of Antioch, was incapable of wielding the lance and buckler of the Greek emperor. Ever foremoſt to provoke, or to accept a ſingle combat, the champions who

who encountered his arm were tranſpierced by the lance, or cut aſunder by the ſword of the invincible Manuel, but with the valour of a ſoldier, he did not unite the ſkill or prudence of a general; and his Turkiſh laurels were blaſted by his laſt campaign, in which he loſt his army in the mountains of Piſidia. Hardy and abſtemious in the field, at Conſtantinople he reſigned himſelf to the arts and pleaſures of a life of luxury. The double coſt of a warrior, and a diſſolute prince, exhauſted the revenue, and multiplied the taxes; and Manuel, in the diſtreſs of his laſt Turkiſh campaign, endured a bitter reproach from the mouth of a deſperate ſoldier. As he quenched his thirſt at a fountain, he complained that the water was mingled with Chriſtian blood. "It is not the firſt time, O empe-"ror," exclaimed a voice from the crowd, "that "you have drank the blood of your Chriſtian ſub-"jects." The daughter of Manuel, by his firſt wife, was deſtined for Bela, an Hungarian prince, who was educated at Conſtantinople, under the name of Alexius; but the ſubſequent marriage of the emperor with Maria, a princeſs of Antioch, was productive of a ſon, on whom the name of Alexius was beſtowed; the Hungarian prince was deprived of his bride, and reſumed his former name and kingdom; and Alexius, at the age of ten years, on his father's deceaſe, aſcended the Bazantine throne.

Andronicus, the younger ſon of Iſaac, and grandſon of Alexius Comnenus, was dexterous in arms, incapable of fear, and poſſeſſed of a ready eloquence. In his youth, as he followed the retreat of the Roman army, he

he was ſurpriſed by the Turks, and remained ſome time a reluctant or willing captive in the power of the Sultan. His virtues and vices recommended him to the favour of his couſin; he ſhared the perils and the pleaſures of Manuel; and while the emperor lived in public inceſt with his niece Theodora, the affections of her ſiſter Eudocia were ſeduced and enjoyed by Andronicus: but his treaſonable correſpondence with the king of Hungary and the German emperor, ſoon engaged the attention of Manuel, and a twelve years impriſonment was the puniſhment of his treachery and ingratitude. At the end of this term Andronicus eſcaped from his confinement, traverſed the deſert of Moldavia, and the Carpathian hills, deceived a party of Walachians who had intercepted him, and reached Kiow, the reſidence of the Ruſſian prince. In this northern region he deſerved the forgiveneſs of Manuel, by perſuading the prince to join the arms of the emperor in the invaſion of Hungary. At the head of the Ruſſian cavalry, Andronicus marched from the Boryſthenes to the Danube; and his valour in the aſſault of Zemlin ſealed his free pardon.

By his patriotiſm, in refuſing an oath of allegiance to the preſumptive heir of the empire, Andronicus again offended his ſovereign; by ſeducing the beautiful Philippa, the ſiſter of the empreſs Maria, he excited his reſentment. With a band of deſperate adventurers, leaving the indiſcreet princeſs to weep and to repent, Andronicus undertook the pilgrimage of Jeruſalem, and captivated the affections of Theodora, a young and handſome queen-widow of Baldwin the Third, king

king of Jeruſalem. Driven from Paleſtine, he retired with his wife, and his band of outlaws, among the Turks of Aſia Minor; and at length implored the clemency and received a pardon from the emperor. But the juſt ſuſpicion of Manuel fixed the reſidence of his daring relation at Oenoe, a town of Pontus, ſurrounded with rich vineyards, and ſituate on the coaſt of the Euxine.

The death of Manuel, and the diſorders of the ſtate, opened the faireſt field to the ambition of Andronicus. The emperor was a boy of twelve years of age, without vigour or wiſdom; the empreſs Maria had abandoned her perſon and government to a favourite of the Comnenian name; her daughter-in law, another Maria, had excited an inſurrection; a civil war was kindled in Conſtantinople; the moſt reſpectable patriots called aloud for a guardian and avenger; and every tongue repeated the praiſe of Andronicus. In his march from Oenoe to Conſtantinople, his train inſenſibly ſwelled to a crowd and an army; all oppoſition ſunk before him; and the Byzantine navy ſailed from the harbour to receive and tranſport the ſaviour of the empire. The firſt cares of Andronicus were to ſalute the emperor, to confine his mother, to puniſh her miniſter, and to reſtore the public order and tranquillity. The coronation of Alexius was performed with due ſolemnity; but the adherents of Andronicus maintained, that the Romans could only be ſaved by a veteran prince, bold in arms, ſkilful in policy, and taught to reign by the long experience of fortune and mankind. Alexius was condemned to receive a colleague,

league, who ſoon degraded him from the firſt rank; condemned and executed his mother; and at laſt ſtrangled the helpleſs and unfortunate youth. As the tyrant, inſenſible to pity, ſurveyed the corpſe, he ſtruck it rudely with his foot, and exclaimed, "Thy father "was a *knave*, thy mother a *whore*, and thyſelf a "*fool!*"

A. D. 1183.] The ſhort reign of Andronicus was a ſingular contraſt of vice and virtue; when he liſtened to his paſſions, he was the ſcourge, when he conſulted his reaſon, the father of his people. The neceſſary extinction of the young emperor and his mother, impoſed the fatal obligation of extirpating the friends, who hated, and might puniſh the aſſaſſin. The general deteſtation of the people was at length arouſed. Iſaac Angelus, a deſcendant in the female line from the great Alexius, had fled from the executioner to the church of St. Sophia. The lamentations of the crowd, who had ſought the ſame ſanctuary, were ſoon converted into curſes. The city burſt into a general ſedition; the name of Iſaac was re-echoed by innumerable acclamations; and Andronicus, deſerted by his guards, was abandoned to the rage of the populace. His teeth, his hair, an eye, and a hand, were torn from him; ſuſpended between two pillars, every hand that could reach the public enemy, inflicted on him ſome mark of ingenious, or brutal cruelty; till two friendly, or furious Italians, plunging their ſwords into his body, releaſed him from all human puniſhment. In this long and painful agony, "Lord "have mercy upon me! and why will you bruiſe a bro-

"ken

"ken reed?" were the only words that eſcaped his mouth; and our hatred for the tyrant is loſt in pity for the man. Iſaac Angelus, who ſucceeded to the purple, was dethroned by his own vices, and the ambition of his brother; and their diſcord introduced the Latins to the conqueſt of Conſtantinople, the firſt great period in the fall of the Eaſtern empire.

CHAPTER XXXV.

INTRODUCTION, WORSHIP, AND PERSECUTION OF IMAGES—REVOLT OF ITALY AND ROME—TEMPORAL DOMINION OF THE POPES—CONQUEST OF ITALY BY THE FRANKS—ESTABLISHMENT OF IMAGES—CHARACTER AND CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE—RESTORATION AND DECAY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST—INDEPENDENCE OF ITALY—CONSTITUTION OF THE GERMANIC BODY.

THE propagation of Chriſtianity, the conſtitution of the catholic church, and the ruin of Paganiſm, have been already reviewed as intimately connected with the decline and fall of the Roman empire To theſe we may juſtly add the worſhip of images, ſo fiercely diſputed in the eighth and ninth centuries; and which produced the revolt of Italy, the temporal power of the popes, and the reſtoration of the Roman empire in the Weſt.

The primitive Chriſtians were poſſeſſed with an unconquerable repugnance to the uſe and abuſe of images; but, under the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine, in the peace and luxury of the triumphant church, the more prudent biſhops condeſcended to indulge a viſible ſuperſtition for the benefit of the multitude. The firſt introduction of a ſymbolic worſhip was in the veneration of the croſs, and of relics. The ſon of God was next repreſented under the form, which it was ſuppoſed, he had aſſumed on earth; and the Virgin Mary

ſoon claimed and obtained a ſimilar indulgence. But as the primitive Chriſtians were ignorant of the genuine features of the ſon of God, his mother, and his apoſtles, a Syrian fable was adopted, by which Chriſt preſents the imperfect impreſſion of his face on linen, to Abgarus, who invoked his healing power, and offered the ſtrong city of Edeſſa to protect him from the Jews. The copies of the features were multiplied with diligence; and, before the ſixth century, theſe images were propagated in the camps and cities of the Eaſtern empire; but the ſemblance of idolatry was more coldly entertained by the rude Barbarians, and the Arian clergy of the Weſt.

The worſhip of images had ſtolen into the church by inſenſible degrees; but in the beginning of the eighth century, in the full magnitude of the abuſe, the Greeks were awakened by an apprehenſion, that under the maſk of Chriſtianity, they had reſtored the religion of their fathers. They heard with impatience themſelves charged as idolators by the Jews and Mahometans, who, from the law and the koran, imbibed an implacable hatred to graven images and all relative worſhip. The ſervitude of the Jews might depreciate their authority; but the triumphant Muſſulmen caſt into the ſcale of reproach, the weight of truth and victory. Though the cities of Syria, Paleſtine, and Egypt, had been fortified with the figures of Chriſt, his mother, and his ſaints, in a rapid conqueſt of ten years, the Arabs ſubdued the cities, and their protecting images; and, in their opinion, the Lord of Hoſts pronounced a deciſive judgment between the adoration

and

and contempt of the mute and inanimate idols. Many of the Chriſtians oppoſed by murmurs the progreſſive influence of theſe ſymbols; the Armenians, even in the twelfth century, were not reconciled to them; and the more rude diſtricts of the empire were ſtrangers to this innovation of ſacred luxury.

A. D. 726—840.] Leo the Third, from the mountains of Iſauria, had aſcended the throne of the Eaſt. Ignorant of ſacred and profane letters, the martial peaſant was inſpired with an hatred of images; but during the firſt ten years of his unſettled reign, Leo bowed before the idols he deſpiſed, and ſatisfied the Roman pontiffs with the annual profeſſions of his orthodoxy and zeal. In the reformation of religion, his firſt ſteps were moderate and cautious; but he was provoked by reſiſtance and invective; the exiſtence, as well as the uſe of religious pictures, were proſcribed; the images of Chriſt, the Virgin, and the ſaints, were demoliſhed; and a ſmooth ſurface of plaſter was ſpread over the walls of the churches of Conſtantinople and the provinces. [A. D. 754.] In the reign of his ſon Copronymus, a general aſſembly was ſummoned, and met in the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople; a decree was pronounced, that all viſible ſymbols of Chriſt, except in the euchariſt, were either blaſphemous or heretical; and all ſuch monuments of idolatry were condemned to be broken or eraſed. Copronymus, in the firſt year of his reign, had undertaken an expedition againſt the Saracens; during his abſence, his capital, his palace, and his throne, were occupied by his kinſman Artavaſdes, the ambitious champion of the orthodox faith.

The worſhip of images was triumphantly reſtored; but Copronymus, who had retired to his paternal mountains, ſoon deſcended at the head of his bold and faithful Iſaurians; his victory was deciſive; and his reſentment was directed againſt the monks, his implacable enemies. From the chaſtiſement of individuals, he proceeded to the abolition of the order; their religious communities were diſſolved; the buildings converted into magazines, or barracks; and their property confiſcated; and with the habit and profeſſion of the monks, the public and private worſhip of images was rigorouſly proſcribed.

The Eaſt abjured, with reluctance, her ſacred ſymbols; they were vigorouſly defended by the independent zeal of the Italians in the Weſt. The patriarch of Conſtantinople, and the pope of Rome, were nearly equal in eccleſiaſtical rank and juriſdiction; but the Greek prelate was under the eye of a maſter, while the freedom of the Latin biſhop was excited by a diſtant ſtation among the Barbarians of the Weſt. His popular election endeared him to the Romans; and the neglect of the emperors compelled him to conſult, both in peace and war, the temporal ſafety of the city. The prieſt inſenſibly imbibed the virtues and ambition, and at length aſſumed the character, of a prince. In the eighth century, the dominion of the pope was founded on rebellion, and that rebellion was juſtified by the hereſy of the *Iconoclaſts*. The ſecond and third Gregory pronounced the ſeparation of the Eaſt and Weſt, and deprived the ſacrilegious tyrant of the revenue and ſovereignty of Italy. In an epiſtle from Gregory

Gregory the Second to Leo, after defending the uſe of images, he adds, "The eyes of the nations are fixed "on our humility; and they revere, as a God upon "earth, the apoſtle St. Peter, whoſe image you threaten "to deſtroy. The Barbarians have ſubmitted to the "yoke of the goſpel, while you alone are deaf to the "voice of the ſhepherd. Theſe pious Barbarians are "kindled into rage; they think to avenge the perſe-"cution of the Eaſt; abandon your raſh and fatal en-"terprize; reflect, tremble, and repent. If you per-"ſiſt, we are innocent of the blood that will be ſpilt in "the conteſt; may it fall on your own head."

On the reception of the proſcriptive edict of Leo, the Italians trembled for their domeſtic deities. A ſtrong alternative was propoſed to the Roman pontiff; the royal favour as the price of his compliance, degradation and exile as the penalty of his diſobedience.—Neither zeal nor policy allowed Gregory to heſitate; without depending on prayer or miracles, he boldly armed againſt the public enemy. Ravenna, Venice, and the cities of the exarchate and Pentapolis, adhered to the cauſe of the orthodox religion; the Italians ſwore to live and die in the defence of the pope, and the ſacred images; the Roman people were devoted to their father; and even the Lombards were ambitious to ſhare the merit and advantage of the holy war. To reſtore his dominions in Italy, the emperor ſent a fleet and army into the Adriatic gulf; the Greeks made their deſcent in the neighbourhood of Ravenna; but the inhabitants armed in the defence of their religion and country; after a hard-fought battle, the Greeks

were compelled to retreat to their ſhips; and amidſt the triumph of the catholic arms, the Roman pontiff convened a ſynod of ninety-three biſhops againſt the hereſy of the Iconoclaſts. With their conſent, he pronounced a general excommunication againſt all who ſhould attack the tradition of their fathers, and the images of the ſaints; no ſooner had they confirmed their own ſafety, the worſhip of images, and the freedom of Rome and Italy, than the popes appear to have relaxed of their ſeverity, and to have ſpared the relics of the Byzantine dominion. The imperial exarch was permitted to reſide within the walls of Ravenna rather as a captive than a maſter; and till the coronation of Charlemagne, the government of Rome and Italy was exerciſed in the name of the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine.

When the ſovereignty of the Greek emperors was extinguiſhed, the ruins of Rome preſented the ſad image of depopulation and decay. The inhabitants, the offspring of ſlaves and ſtrangers, were deſpicable in the eyes of the victorious Barbarians. "In the name "of a Roman," ſays the biſhop Liutprand, "we in-"clude whatever is baſe, whatever is cowardly, what-"ever is perfidious; the extremes of avarice and "luxury, and every vice that can proſtitute the dig-"nity of human nature." The Romans, habituated to ſlavery, beheld with terror their own liberty, the effect of ſuperſtition. By the neceſſity of their ſituation, they were caſt into the rough model of a republican government; they were compelled to elect ſome judges in peace, and leaders in war; the nobles aſſembled to deliberate, and their reſolves could not be executed

executed without the union and conſent of the multitude. The ſtile of the Roman ſenate was revived; and their foreign and domeſtic counſels were moderated by the authority of the biſhop; his recent ſervices, and their gratitude, accuſtomed the Romans to conſider him as the firſt magiſtrate or prince of the city; and he transferred to the popes, his ſucceſſors, the nobleſt title, the free choice of a people delivered from ſlavery.

The Lombards had early been tempted by the wealth and diſorders of Italy; their monarch, Liutprand, as the champion of the holy images, had invaded the province of Romagna; the catholics of the exarchate yielded to his power, and the gates of Ravenna were opened to his arms. But that city was ſpeedily recovered by the maritime forces of the Venetians; and the Greeks uniting ſoon after with the Barbarians in an unnatural alliance, the king of the Lombards and the exarch marched to the conqueſt of Spoleto and Rome. The ſtorm however was diverted; yet Italy was continually alarmed by Liutprand, with the vexatious alternative of hoſtility and truce. By his ſucceſſor Aſtolphus, Ravenna was ſubdued; and Rome was ſummoned to acknowledge the victorious Lombard as her lawful ſovereign. The Romans heſitated; they entreated; they complained; and the ſword of the Barbarians was ſuſpended by the arts of negociation, till the popes had engaged the friendſhip of an ally, and an avenger beyond the Alps.

Gregory the Firſt, in his diſtreſs, had implored the aid of the hero of the age, Charles Martel, who go-

verned the French monarchy with the humble title of mayor or duke; but the greatneſs of his occupations prevented Charles from interfering in the affairs of Italy, except by an ineffectual mediation. His ſon Pepin aſſumed the office of champion of the Roman church; he liſtened to the repreſentations of Stephen the Third, who in perſon had paſſed the Alps to ſolicit his friendſhip and ſupport. [A.D.754.] The return of the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, was facilitated by a French army, led by the king in perſon. The Lombard, after a weak reſiſtance, obtained an ignominious peace; which was violated by Aſtolphus the moment he was delivered from the formidable preſence of the Franks. Rome was again encompaſſed by his arms, and again delivered by a ſecond expedition of Pepin. Aſtolphus was taught the leſſons of juſtice and ſincerity from the ſcourge of a foreign maſter; and the Lombards, after this chaſtiſement, languiſhed twenty years in a ſtate of gradual decay. But their minds were not humbled to their condition; they repeated their vexatious inroads; and, on either ſide, their expiring monarchy was preſſed by the zeal and prudence of pope Adrian, and by the genius and fortune of Charlemagne, the ſon of Pepin. The paſſes of the Alps were ſurprized, and the walls of Pavia were inveſted. [A. D. 774.] After a blockade of two years, Deſiderius, the laſt of their native princes, ſurrendered his capital; and the Lombards, left in poſſeſſion of their national laws, became the brethren rather than the ſubjects of the Franks.

The eſſential rewards of the popes to the Carlovingian

gian race for their aid, were the dignities of king of France, and of patrician of Rome. The powers of royalty were exercised by Pepin, mayor of the palace; but the regal title was still attached to Childeric, the last descendant of Clovis. The mayor and the nobles were bound by an oath of fidelity to the royal phantom. Their common ambassadors addressed the Roman pontiff to absolve their promise. The interest of pope Zachary prompted him to decide, that the nation might lawfully unite in the same person, the title and authority of king; and that the unfortunate Childeric should be degraded, shaved, and confined in a monastery for the remainder of his days. The answer was agreeable to the wishes of the Franks; the Merovingian race disappeared; Pepin was exalted on a buckler by the free suffrage of the people; the Franks were absolved from their oath; but a dire anathema was thundered against them if they renewed the freedom of choice, except in the meritorious race of the Carlovingian princes.

The supreme magistrate of Italy, after it was recovered by the arms of Justinian, had been indifferently stiled the exarch or patrician. After the revolt of Italy, and the loss of the exarchate, the senate and people successively invested Charles Martel and his posterity with the honours of patrician of Rome. The Roman ambassadors presented these patricians with the keys of the shrine of St. Peter, as a symbol of sovereignty. The power of Charlemagne converted an honorary distinction of alliance into actual authority; in the twenty-six years that elapsed between the conquest

of the Lombards, and his imperial coronation, that prince ruled Rome with as abſolute a will as his own kingdom; nor was there any prerogative remaining which the title of the emperor could add to the patrician of Rome.

The gratitude of the Carlovingians was adequate to theſe obligations, and the donation of the exarchate was the firſt fruits of the conqueſt of Pepin. This ſplendid donation was granted to the Roman pontiff in ſupreme and abſolute dominion; and the world beheld, for the firſt time, a Chriſtian biſhop inveſted with the prerogatives of a temporal prince. The inhabitants of the dutchy of Spoleto, in the diſſolution of the Lombard kingdom, voluntarily profeſſed themſelves the ſervants and ſubjects of St. Peter, and by this ſurrender completed the preſent circle of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. In the tranſports of his victory, Charlemagne had deſpoiled himſelf and the Greek emperor by a written or verbal donation of the cities and iſlands which had formerly belonged to the exarchate; but in the cooler moments of reflection, he viewed with jealouſy the recent greatneſs of his eccleſiaſtical ally. The execution of his own and his father's promiſes was reſpectfully eluded, and the king of the Franks and Lombards aſſerted the inalienable rights of the empire.

Before the end of the eighth century, ſome apoſtolic ſcribe compoſed the decretals and donation of Conſtantine. According to the legend, that emperor, the firſt of the Chriſtian princes, was healed of the leproſy, and purified in the waters of baptiſm by St. Sylveſter,

the

the Roman biſhop; and the gratitude of the monarch was diſplayed in his reſolution to found a new capital in the Eaſt, and to reſign to the popes the free and perpetual ſovereignty of Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the Weſt. Charlemagne was exhorted by Adrian the Firſt, who introduced this memorable donation into the world, to imitate the liberality of Conſtantine. The popes by this gift were delivered from their debt of gratitude; and the ſucceſſors of St. Peter and Conſtantine were inveſted with the purple and prerogatives of the Cæſars. In the twelfth century, the validity of this deed was confuted by the pen of Laurentius Valla; but a falſe and obſolete title ſtill ſanctifies the reign of the pontiffs, who themſelves have indulged a ſmile at the credulity of the vulgar.

A. D. 780.] While the popes eſtabliſhed in Italy their freedom and dominion, the images the firſt cauſe of their revolt, were reſtored in the Eaſtern empire. The fair and ambitious Irene, as ſoon as ſhe reigned in her own name and that of her ſon, undertook the ruin of the Iconoclaſts. A ſynod, convened at Nice, pronounced, that the worſhip of the images was agreeable to ſcripture and reaſon; and the empreſs Theodora, the widow of Theophilus, eſtabliſhed the triumph of the Catholics, and the perſecution of the Iconoclaſts. But though the Greek emperors had reſtored the images, they had not reſtored the eſtates which had been torn from the ſucceſſors of St. Peter; and under the reign of the pious Irene, the popes had already conſummated the ſeparation of Rome and Italy, by the tranſlation of the empire to Charle-

Charlemagne. The title of patrician was below the merit and greatneſs of the ſon of Pepin; and it was only by reviving the Weſtern empire that they could pay their obligations, or ſecure their eſtabliſhment. Leo the ſucceſſor of Adrian, placed a precious crown on the head of Charlemagne, who on the feſtival of Chriſtmas, the laſt year of the eighth century, appeared in the church of St. Peter; [A. D. 800. Dec. 25.] the dome reſounded with the acclamations of the people, "Long life and victory to Charles, the moſt "pious Auguſtus, crowned by God the great and pa-"cific emperor of the Romans." The emperor, even in his familiar converſation, proteſted his ignorance of the intentions of Leo, though the preparations for the ceremony muſt have diſcloſed the ſecret, and the journey of Charlemagne reveals his knowledge and expectation; the imperial title was the ambitious object of a prince whoſe dominions, Eaſt and Weſt, extended from the Ebro to the Elbe, or Viſtula; and between the North and South, from the dutchy Beneventum to the river Eyder, the perpetual boundary of Germany and Denmark. The ſubjugation of Germany withdrew the veil which had ſo long concealed the continent or iſlands of Scandinavia from the knowledge of Europe. The fierceſt of the Saxon idolators eſaped from the Chriſtian tyrant to their brethren of the North; the Ocean and Mediterranean were covered with their piratical fleets; and Charlemagne beheld with a ſigh the deſtructive progreſs of the Normans, who, in leſs than ſeventy years, precipitated the fall of his race and monarchy.

A. D. 814. 840.] Lewis the Pious ſurvived the other

other ſons of Charlemagne, and poſſeſſed the whole empire of that prince; but that empire, after a deſtructive war, was divided again by the three ſons of Lewis. The kingdoms of Germany and France were ſeparated for ever. The provinces of Gaul, between the Rhone and the Alps, the Meuſe and the Rhine, were aſſigned with Italy to the imperial dignity of Lothaire. [A. D. 846. 856.] In the partition of his ſhare, Lorraine and Arles, two recent and tranſitory kingdoms, were beſtowed on the younger children; [A. D. 856. 875.] and Lewis the Second, his eldeſt ſon, was content with the realm of Italy, the proper patrimony of a Roman emperor. On his death, the vacant throne was diſputed by his uncles and couſins; and the popes moſt dexterouſly ſeized the opportunity of judging the claims and merits of the candidates. Charles the Fat, the laſt emperor of the Carlovingian race, was depoſed on account of inſanity, in a diet. According to the meaſure of their force, the governors, biſhops, and lords, uſurped the fragments of the falling empire; [A. D. 888.] but their title and poſſeſſion were alike precarious, and the term of ſeventy-four years, from the abdication of Charles the Fat, to the eſtabliſhment of Otho the Firſt, may be deemed a vacancy.

A. D. 962.] Otho was of the noble race of the dukes of Saxony; his father Henry the Fowler was elected by the ſuffrage of the nation, to ſave and inſtitute the kingdom of Germany. Its limits were enlarged on every ſide by his ſon, the firſt and greateſt of the Othos. At the head of a victorious army, he paſſed

paſſed the Alps, ſubdued the kingdom of Italy, delivered the pope, and for ever fixed the imperial crown in the name and nation of Germany. From that memorable æra, two maxims were introduced, and ratified by time. I. That the Prince who was elected in the German diet acquired from that inſtant the ſubject kingdoms of Italy and Rome. II. But that he might not lawfully aſſume the titles of emperor and Auguſtus till he had received the crown from the hands of the Roman pontiff.

The Greeks, during the latter part of the reign of Charlemagne, had reſpectfully ſaluted him with the title of *Baſileus* and emperor of the Romans. But this tribute of veneration, which was extorted by the virtues and ſucceſs of that prince, they refuſed to his feeble poſterity. The ſame claim was aſſerted under the Othos; but the Byzantine court perſiſted in their determination not to proſtitute to the kings of Germany the title of Roman emperors.

Yet theſe emperors, in the election of the popes, continued to exerciſe the powers which had been aſſumed by the Grecian and Gothic princes. Seven cardinal biſhops directed a ſenate, compoſed of the moſt reſpectable Roman eccleſiaſtics, moſt of whom were dignified with the title of cardinals. On the death of the pope, theſe biſhops recommended a ſucceſſor to the ſuffrage of the college of cardinals, and their choice was ratified or rejected by the applauſe or murmurs of the Roman people; but the election was imperfect till the emperor had ſignified his conſent. After a long ſeries of ſcandal, the apoſtolic ſee was reformed

formed and exalted by the auſterity and zeal of Gregory the Seventh. That ambitious monk devoted his life to the execution of two projects. I. To fix in the college of cardinals the ſole right of election. II. To beſtow and reſume the Weſtern empire as a fief of the church, and to extend his temporal dominion over the kings and kingdoms of the earth. The firſt of the deſigns was accompliſhed by the firm ſupport of the eccleſiaſtical order; but the ſecond attempt was vigorouſly reſiſted by the ſecular power, and finally extinguiſhed by the improvement of reaſon.

The German Cæſars had long been ambitious to enſlave the kingdom of Italy; but their patrimonial eſtates were ſtretched along the Rhine, or ſcattered through diſtant provinces; and this domain was alienated by the imprudence or diſtreſs of ſucceſſive princes; their revenue, from minute and vexatious prerogative, was ſcarcely ſufficient for the maintenance of their houſehold. Their troops were formed by the voluntary ſervice of their feudal vaſſals, who paſſed the Alps with reluctance, and capriciouſly deſerted before the end of the campaign. In the Italian cities, a municipal government was never totally aboliſhed; and in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, the flame of freedom and induſtry was rekindled by the Lombards. Each city filled the meaſure of her dioceſe and diſtrict. The juriſdiction of the biſhops, the marquiſſes, and the counts, was baniſhed from the republics of Tuſcany. The legiſlative authority was inherent in the general aſſembly; but the executive powers were entruſted to three conſuls, annually choſen from the three orders

of *captains*, *valvaſſors*, and *commons*, into which the republic was divided. Under the protection of equal law, the labours of agriculture and commerce were gradually revived; and the invincible ſpirit of liberty prevailed over the attempts of the two Frederics, the greateſt and moſt renowned princes of the middle age.

A. D. 1150—1192.] Frederic the Firſt had invaded the republics of Lombardy with art, valour and cruelty; the obſtinate cities were reduced by the terror or force of his arms; and Milan was raſed to the ground by the inflexible conqueror. But that city ſoon roſe from her aſhes; the cauſe of Lombardy was eſpouſed by pope Alexander the Third, the Greek emperor, and the republic of Venice. Frederic was compelled, in the treaty of Conſtance, to ſubſcribe the freedom of twenty-four cities, and the fabric of oppreſſion was overturned in a day. His grandſon, Frederic the Second, was recommended by his birth and education to the Italians; [A. D. 1198—1250.] his father, Henry the Sixth, had united to the empire the kingdoms of Naples and of Sicily; from theſe hereditary realms the ſon derived an ample and ready ſupply of troops and treaſure; yet Frederic the Second was finally oppreſſed by the arms of the Lombards, and the thunders of the Vatican; his kingdom was given to a ſtranger, and the laſt of his family was beheaded at Naples on a public ſcaffold.

After the death of Frederic the Second, a crowd of princes and prelates diſputed the ruins of the empire. [A. D. 1250.] The lords of innumerable caſtles

caſtles aſſumed a ſtate of independence; but the union of the Germans produced at length, under the name of an empire, a great free ſyſtem of a fœderative republic. The inſtitution of diets kept alive the national ſpirit; and the powers of a common legiſlature are ſtill exerciſed by the three colleges, of the electors, the princes, and the free and imperial cities of Germany. I. The electors were compoſed of ſeven of the moſt powerful feudatories, who aſſumed the privilege of chuſing the Roman emperor. Theſe were the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburgh, the count palatine of the Rhine, and the three archbiſhops of Mentz, of Treves, and of Cologne. II. The college of princes and prelates delivered themſelves from a promiſcuous multitude, and reduced the long ſeries of independent counts to four repreſentative votes. III. The commons were introduced as the third branch of the legiſlature; the Hanſeatic league commanded the trade and navigation of the North; the confederates of the Rhine ſecured the intercourſe of the inland country; the influence of theſe cities has been adequate to their wealth and policy; and their negative ſtill invalidates the acts of the two ſuperior colleges of electors and princes.

In the fourteenth century, the Roman empire of Germany no longer held, except on the borders of the Rhine and Danube, a ſingle province of Trajan or Conſtantine. The Roman pontiffs, who in exile or captivity, at Avignon, affected the dominion of the earth,

earth, beſtowed on Charles the Fourth, of Bohemia, the promiſe of the vacant empire. The death of his competitors united the electoral college, and Charles was unanimouſly ſaluted king of the Romans, and future emperor. But this title deſcribed little more than the elective and impotent magiſtrate of an ariſtocracy of princes; and his beſt prerogative was the right of preſiding and propoſing in the national ſenate, which was convened at his ſummons. The gold of Italy ſecured the election of his ſon; [A. D. 1355.] but ſuch was the ſhameful poverty of the Roman emperor, that his perſon was arreſted in the ſtreets of Worms, and was detained in the public inn as a pledge for the payment of his expences.

A. D. 1356.] Yet the apparent majeſty of the ſame emperor in the diet may well excite our aſtoniſhment and admiration. The domeſtic ſervice of the palace was performed by the hereditary great officers, the ſeven electors, who in rank and title were equal to kings. The ſeals of the triple kingdom were borne in ſtate by the archbiſhops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, the perpetual arch-chancellors of Germany, Italy, and Arles. The great marſhal regulated the order of the gueſts. The great ſteward, the count palatine of the Rhine, placed the diſhes on the table. The great chamberlain, the margrave of Brandenburgh, preſented the golden ewer and baſon to waſh. And the king of Bohemia, as cup-bearer, was repreſented by the emperor's brother, the duke of Luxemburgh. Nor was the ſupremacy of the emperor confined

confined to Germany; the hereditary monarchs of Europe confeſſed the pre-eminence of his rank and dignity; to his perſon the title of majeſty was long appropriated; and he diſputed with the pope the prerogative of creating kings and aſſembling councils.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

DESCRIPTION OF ARABIA AND ITS INHABITANTS—BIRTH, CHARACTER, AND DOCTRINE OF MAHOMET—HE PREACHES AT MECCA—FLIES TO MEDINA—PROPAGATES HIS RELIGION BY THE SWORD—VOLUNTARY OR RELUCTANT SUBMISSION OF THE ARABS—HIS DEATH AND SUCCESSORS—THE CLAIMS AND FORTUNES OF ALI AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

DURING the reign of Heraclius, the doctrines and victories of Mahomet rapidly engaged the public attention, and the genius of the Arabian prophet, the manners of his nation, and the ſpirit of his religion, involve the cauſes of the decline and fall of the Roman empire.

The Arabian peninſula contains the vacant ſpace between Perſia, Syria, Egypt, and Æthiopia; and the entire ſurface of it exceeds in a fourfold proportion that of Germany, or France; but the far greater part of it has properly acquired the epithets of the *ſtony* and the *ſandy*. In the dreary waſte, a boundleſs level of ſand is interſected by ſharp and naked mountains. The winds diffuſe a noxious, and even deadly vapour; the hillocks of ſand which they alternately raiſe and ſcatter, have buried whole caravans, and even armies; deſtitute of navigable rivers, the refreſhment of water is precariouſly to be enjoyed by the Arabian traveller; and a ſcanty ſupply of rain is collected for his uſe in ciſterns

ciſterns and aqueducts. But the high lands that border on the Indian ocean are diſtinguiſhed by their ſuperior plenty: wood and water freely preſent themſelves; the air is more temperate; the fruits more delicious; the animals and the human race more numerous; the peculiar gifts of frankincenſe and coffee have attracted, in different ages, the merchants of the world; and this part of the peninſula, contraſted with the *ſtony* and the *ſandy*, has been honoured with the epithet of *happy*. But this nominal diviſion is unknown to the Arabs themſelves; and a country, whoſe language and inhabitants have ever been the ſame, ſcarcely retains a veſtige of its ancient geography. The diſtricts of *Bahrein* and *Oman* are oppoſed to the realm of Perſia; *Yemen* diſplays the ſituation of Arabia Fœlix; and the province of *Hejaz*, along the coaſt of the Red Sea, has been rendered illuſtrious by the birth of Mahomet.

Along the ſhores of the Perſian gulf, of the Ocean, and even of the Red Sea, the *Icthyophagi*, or fiſh-eaters, wandered in queſt of their precarious food; but in an early period of antiquity, the great body of the Arabs emerged from this ſcene of primitive miſery, and roſe at once to the more ſecure and plentiful condition of the paſtoral life. The ſame life has been uniformly purſued; and in the portraits of the modern *Bedoweens*, we may trace the manners of their anceſtors, who in the age of Moſes, or Mahomet, conducted their horſes, their camels, and ſheep, to the ſame ſprings and the ſame paſtures. The Bedoweens preſerve, with ſuperſtitious care, the breed and pedigree of the horſe; and

in the opinion of the naturaliſt, the genuine and original country of that noble animal, is Arabia. The utility of the camel aſſigns to that beaſt the ſecond rank in eſtimation; ſtrong and patient, theſe creatures are capable of performing, without eating or drinking, a journey of ſeveral days; and almoſt every part, alive or dead, is ſerviceable to man. The milk is plentiful and nutritious; the young and tender fleſh has the taſte of veal; a valuable ſalt is extracted from the urine; the dung ſupplies the deficiency of fuel; and the long hair, which falls each year, and is renewed, is coarſely manufactured into the garments, the furniture, and the tents of the Bedoweens.

Many of the Arabian tribes were collected into towns, and employed in the labours of trade and agriculture; theſe ſtill devoted a part of their time and induſtry to the management of their cattle, and mingled, in peace and war, with their brethren of the Deſert. Forty-two cities of Arabia are enumerated by Abulfeda; but the luſtre of the more ancient was eclipſed by the prophetic glories of MEDINA and MECCA, near the Red Sea, and at the diſtance of two hundred and ſeventy miles from each other. The laſt of theſe holy places never exceeded the ſize and populouſneſs of Marſeilles; but the fame and ſpirit of the Koreiſhites, who reigned in Mecca, were conſpicuous among the Arabian tribes; their rocky ſoil refuſed indeed the labours of agriculture, but their poſition was favourable to trade: only forty miles from the ſea-port of Gedda, and almoſt at an equal diſtance from Yemen and Syria, the lucrative traffic of the Koreiſhites diffuſed plenty

plenty and riches through the ſtreets of Mecca, and the profeſſion of merchandize was united with the love of arms.

The tranſient dominion obtained by the Abyſſinians, the Perſians, the ſultans of Egypt, and the Turks over the kingdom of Yemen, has not precluded the Arabs from the praiſe of pepetual independence; a ſhadow of juriſdiction is at preſent exerciſed by the Ottoman Porte; but the ſultan is reduced to ſolicit the friendſhip of a people, whom it would be dangerous to provoke. The character and country of the Arabs diſplay the obvious cauſes of their freedom; the patient and active virtues of a ſoldier are inſenſibly nurſed in the habits and diſcipline of a paſtoral life. The care of the ſheep and camels is abandoned to the women of the tribe; and the martial youth is ever on horſeback, and in the field, to practiſe the exerciſe of the bow, the javelin, and the ſcymetar; their horſes and camels, which, in eight or ten days, can perform a march of four or five hundred miles, diſappear before a conqueror; the ſecret waters of the Deſert elude his ſearch; and his victorious troops are conſumed with thirſt, hunger, and fatigue. When Mahomet erected his holy ſtandard, the kingdom of Yemen was a province of the Perſian empire; yet ſeven princes of the Homerites ſtill reigned in the mountains; and from Mecca to the Euphrates, the Arabian tribes were confounded by the Greeks and Latins, under the general appellation of SARACENS.

The dignities of ſheich and emir, in every tribe, is appropriated to a particular family, and invariably de-

ſcend in this choſen race; but the order of ſucceſſion is looſe and precarious; and the moſt worthy, or aged, of the kinſmen, are preferred to the office of compoſing diſputes by their advice, and guiding valour by their example: even the females are allowed their claim; and the reign of Mavia is famous in eccleſiaſtical ſtory. The ſofter natives of Yemen ſupported the pomp and majeſty of a monarch; and the cities of Mecca and Medina preſent the ſubſtance of a commonwealth; the grandfather of Mahomet, and his lineal anceſtors, appear to have exerciſed a degree of regal authority; but they reigned by the opinion of their wiſdom and integrity; their influence was divided with their patrimony; and the ſceptre was transferred from the uncles of the prophet to a younger branch of the tribe of Koreiſh.

The Arabs pretend, that in the diviſion of the earth, the rich and fertile climates were aſſigned to the other branches of the human family, and that the poſterity of Iſmael might recover, by fraud or force, the portion of inheritance, of which he had been unjuſtly deprived. If a Bedoween diſcovers a ſolitary traveller, he rides furiouſly againſt him, crying, with a loud voice, "Undreſs thyſelf, thy aunt (*my wife*) is without a garment;" and mercy is the reſult of ready ſubmiſſion, but the death of the aggreſſor would be revenged by the reſt of the tribe. Among the Arabs, the honour of their women, and their *beards*, is moſt eaſily wounded; an indecent action, a contemptuous word, can be expiated only by the blood of the offender; and ſuch

is

is their patient inveteracy, that they will wait whole months and years the opportunity of revenge.

Though the Arabians were ignorant of the arts of grammar, of metre, and of rhetoric, their penetration was ſharp, their fancy luxuriant, their wit ſtrong and ſententious; and the genius and merit of a riſing poet was celebrated by the applauſe of his own, and the kindred tribes; their generoſity diſclaimed the narrow meaſure of diſcretion and experience; and the hoſpitality which was practiſed by Abraham, and is immortalized by Homer, is ſtill renewed in the camps of the Arabs. The ferocious Bedoween receives the ſtranger, who confides in his honour, and who enters, without heſitation, his tent, with a ſincere embrace, and with affectionate attention. The character of Hatem is the perfect model of Arabian virtue; he was brave and liberal; an eloquent poet and ſucceſsful robber; forty camels were roaſted at his hoſpitable feaſts; and at the prayer of a ſuppliant enemy, he reſtored both the captives and the ſpoil.

The Arabs confined their religion to the worſhip of the ſun, the moon, and the fixed ſtars; though each independent warrior might change the object of his fantaſtic devotion, yet the nation has always acknowledged the religion, as well as language, of Mecca. The genuine antiquity of the CAABA aſcends beyond the Chriſtian æra; a tent, or cavern, might ſuffice for the worſhip of the ſavages; but an edifice of ſtone has been erected in its place; and the art and power of the monarchs of the Eaſt have been confined to the ſimplicity of the original model. The tribe of Koreiſh had

acquired the cuſtody of the CAABA: the ſacerdotal office devolved, through four lineal deſcents, to the grandfather of Mahomet; and the family of the Haſhemites, from whom he ſprung, was the moſt reſpectable in the country.

The ſame rites, which are now accompliſhed by the faithful Muſſulman, were invented and practiſed by the ſuperſtition of the ancient idolators; and the uſe of ſacrifices, which has ſo generally prevailed, expreſſed the gratitude of the Arab to his gods; but his zeal too frequently conſidered the life of man as the moſt precious oblation; and this cruel practice was preſerved by the tribe of the Dumatians, as late as the third century. The cuſtom of circumciſion had early exiſted among them; and has been ſilently tranſmitted to their poſterity and proſelytes, without the cenſure or the precept of the koran.

The Jews were ſettled in Arabia ſeven hundred years before the death of Mahomet: their numbers were increaſed by the multitude expelled by Titus and Hadrian; they erected ſynagogues in the cities, and caſtles in the Wilderneſs; and their Gentile converts were confounded with the children of Iſrael, whom they reſembled in the outward mark of circumciſion. The perſecution of the ſectaries by the catholics, induced the oppreſſed to retire beyond the limits of the Roman empire; and the doctrines of Chriſtianity were propagated in the churches of Yemen; the Arabs were taught to believe the exiſtence of one ſupreme God; the moſt rational acknowledged his power, though they neglected his worſhip; and it was

habit

habit rather than conviction, that ſtill attached them to the relics of idolatry. In the ſtory of the Hebrew patriarchs, they were pleaſed to diſcover the fathers of their nation; they applauded the birth and promiſes of Iſmael; revered the virtue of Abraham; and traced his pedigree, and their own, to the creation of the firſt man.

Mahomet, or more properly Mohammed, ſprung from the tribe of Koreiſh, and the family of Haſhem, the only ſon of Abdallah and Amina; he was born at Mecca, four years after the death of Juſtinian. In his early infancy he was deprived of his father and mother; and his numerous uncles reduced the ſhare of the orphan's inheritance to five camels, and an Æthiopian maid-ſervant. His uncle, Abu Taleb, was the guardian of his youth; in his twenty-fifth year, he entered into the ſervice of Cadijah, a rich widow of Mecca, who ſoon beſtowed upon him her hand and fortune. By this alliance, the ſon of Abdallah was reſtored to the ſtation of his anceſtors; and continued in the practice of domeſtic virtue till, in the fortieth year of his age, he aſſumed the title of a prophet, and proclaimed the religion of the koran.

The perſonal beauty of Mahomet is eſtabliſhed by the tradition of his companions; and in the familiar offices of life, he adhered to the grave and ceremonious politeneſs of his country. His memory was capacious and retentive; his wit eaſy and ſocial; his imagination ſublime; his judgment clear, rapid, and deciſive. He was educated in the uſe of the pureſt dialect of Arabia; and the fluency of his ſpeech was corrected and

and enhanced by the practice of diſcreet and ſeaſonable ſilence: but theſe powers of eloquence were contraſted with an illiterate mind; and the youth of Mahomet had never been inſtructed in the arts of reading and writing. The two journies he had undertaken into Syria, were confined to the fairs of Boſra and Damaſcus; in the firſt, when he accompanied his uncle, he was only thirteen years of age; and in the ſecond, his duty compelled him to return when he had diſpoſed of the merchandize of Cadijah. From his earlieſt youth, Mahomet was addicted to religious contemplation; each year, during the month of Ramadan, he withdrew to the cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca; and at length delivered, under the name of *Iſlam*, that faith, which is compounded of an eternal truth, and a neceſſary fiction, THAT THERE IS ONLY ONE GOD, AND THAT MAHOMET IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD.

In the koran, the penetration of the Arabian prophet has rejected the worſhip of idols and men, of ſtars and planets, on the rational principle, that whatever riſes muſt ſet, that whatever is born muſt die, and that whatever is corruptible muſt decay and periſh. Sagacious and diſcerning in his enthuſiaſm, he confeſſed and adored in the Author of the univerſe an infinite being, without form or place, without iſſue or ſimilitude; and the koran remains a glorious teſtimony of the unity of God.

The liberality of Mahomet has allowed to his predeceſſors the ſame credit which he claimed for himſelf. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moſes, Chriſt, and Mahomet, are proclaimed the ſix legiſlators, who have announced

to

to mankind the ſix ſucceſſive revelations of various rites, but of one immutable religion. In authority they riſe in juſt gradation above each other; but whoever hates, or rejects, any one of the prophets, is numbered with the infidels.

According to Mahomet and his diſciples, the ſubſtance of the koran is uncreated and eternal. The chapters and verſes were ſucceſſively revealed by the angel Gabriel to the Arabian prophet. Theſe were produced at the diſcretion of Mahomet; each revelation accorded with his policy or paſſion; and the danger of contradiction is precluded by the maxim, that the ſubſequent texts abrogate the former. The word of God, and of the apoſtle, was diligently collected by his diſciples; the pages as they were inſcribed, were thrown, without order, into a cheſt; and that cheſt was entruſted to the cuſtody of one of his wives. Two years after the death of Mahomet, the ſacred volume was publiſhed by his ſucceſſor Abubeker; and in the thirtieth year of the Hegira, the work was reviſed by the caliph Othman. The ſayings and actions of the prophet had been preſerved by his wives and companions; and at the end of two hundred years, the *ſonna*, or oral law, was fixed by the labours of Al Bochari, who ſelected, from a maſs of three hundred thouſand reports, ſeven thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-five as genuine traditions.

As often as the Arabian prophet was preſſed to give ſome ſign of his miraculous powers, his anſwers were expreſſive of weakneſs and vexation; and he involved himſelf in the obſcure boaſt of viſion and prophecy.

Yet

Yet the credulity of the vulgar has recorded a long liſt of his ſpiritual exploits. Trees went forth to meet him; ſtones ſaluted him; a beam groaned to him; a camel complained to him; and a ſhoulder of mutton informed him of its being poiſoned; but theſe legends, though received by the undiſcerning multitude, have been arraigned, or diſregarded by the graveſt of the Muſſulman doctors, who imitate the modeſty of their maſter, and indulge a latitude of faith, or interpretation.

Prayer, faſting, and alms, are inculcated by Mahomet as the religious duties of a Muſſulman; he is encouraged to hope that prayer will carry him half way to God; faſting will bring him to the door of his palace; and alms will gain him admittance. I. The faithful acknowledge the daily obligation of five prayers, without any diſpenſation of buſineſs or pleaſure, or time or place; at day-break, at noon, in the afternoon, in the evening, and at the firſt watch of night, their devotion is repeated, and the eye of the Muſſulman is turned towards Mecca. Yet every ſpot for the ſervice of God is equally pure; and the Mahometan may indifferently pray in his chamber, or the ſtreet; Friday, in each week, is ſet apart for religious worſhip; the people aſſemble in the moſch; and ſome reſpectable elder from the pulpit, begins the prayer, and pronounces the ſermon. II. Though Mahomet rejected the voluntary penance of the Aſcetics, and firmly declared that he would have no monks in his religion, yet he inſtituted in each year a faſt of thirty days; during the month of Ramadan, the Muſſulman abſtains,

ſtains, from the riſing to the ſetting of the ſun, from all nouriſhment that can reſtore his ſtrength, and from all pleaſure that can gratify his ſenſes; and the conſtant and perpetual interdiction of wine, is delivered as a poſitive and general law by the Arabian prophet. III. The koran commands, as a ſtrict and indeſpenſible duty, the relief of the indigent and unfortunate; even the preciſe meaſure of charity is defined; and the Muſſulman does not fulfil the law, unleſs he beſtows the *tenth* part of his revenue; and if his conſcience accuſes him of fraud, or extortion, that proportion is encreaſed to a *fifth*.

In the idiom of the koran, the belief of God is inſeparable from that of Mahomet; the good works are thoſe which he has enjoined; and the two qualifications imply the profeſſion of Iſlam. The infidels are puniſhed according to the degree of evidence they have rejected, and the true believers only will be judged by their actions; the innocent, treading in the ſteps of of Mahomet, will enjoy the groves and fountains of paradiſe; and ſeventy-two houris, or black-eyed girls, of reſplendent beauty, will be created for the uſe of the meaneſt believers, while the guilty will fall into the firſt and mildeſt of the ſeven hells; but the joys of the Mahometan paradiſe are not confined to the indulgence of appetite; and it is declared, all meaner happineſs will be deſpiſed by the ſaints, who are admitted to the beatitude of viſion.

A. D. 609.] The firſt proſelytes of Mahomet were Cadijah his wife; Zeid his ſervant; Ali, his pupil, and the ſon of Abu Taleb; and Abubeker his friend.

In

In the ſilent labours of three years, the number was increaſed to fourteen; in the fourth year, he aſſumed the prophetic office; and at a banquet, prepared for forty of the race of Haſhem, he proffered to his gueſts, the treaſures of this world, and the world to come; "God has commanded me," ſaid Mahomet, "to call "you to his ſervice; who among you will ſupport my "burthens? who among you will be my companion "and vizir?" The ſilence of the aſſembly was broken by the impatient courage of Ali, then only in the fourteenth year of his age. "O prophet, I am "the man; whoſoever riſes againſt thee, I will daſh "out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, rip "up his belly! O prophet, I will be thy vizir over "them!" The offer was accepted with tranſport; and the religion, which has overſpread the Eaſt and Weſt, for ten years advanced by ſlow and painful ſteps within the walls of Mecca.

To the ſtrangers of every tribe, Mahomet urged, in the Caaba, which he frequented on ſolemn feſtivals, the belief and worſhip of a ſole Deity; he was anſwered by the clamours of Abu Taleb—"Citizens and pilgrims, "liſten not to the tempter, hearken not to his impious "novelties; ſtand faſt in the worſhip of Al Lata and "Al Uzza." Yet the aged chief ſtill protected his nephew againſt the aſſaults of the Koreiſhites, who had long been jealous of the pre-eminence of the family of Haſhem: the piety, or envy, of that tribe engaged them to renounce all intercourſe with the children of Haſhem, and to purſue them with implacable enmity, till they ſhould deliver the perſon of Mahomet to the

juſtice of the gods. The prophet had retired to various places of ſtrength in the town and country; and the death of Abu Taleb abandoned him to the rage of his enemies, at the moment when he was deprived of his domeſtic comforts by the loſs of his faithful Cadijah. Abu Sophian, the chief of the branch of Ommiyah, a zealous votary of idols, a mortal foe of the family of Haſhem, ſucceeded to the principality of the republic of Mecca. The death of Mahomet was reſolved; but the conſpiracy was revealed; the Arabian prophet, at the dead of night, accompanied by his friend Abubeker, ſilently eſcaped from his houſe; the aſſaſſins were deceived by the figure of Ali, who repoſed on the bed, and was covered with the green veſtments of the apoſtle; the fugitives with difficulty reached Medina; and the flight of Mahomet from Mecca has fixed the memorable æra of the hegira which ſtill diſcriminates the lunar years of the Mahometan nations. [A. D. 622.]

Some citizens of Medina, on a pilgrimage to the Caaba, were converted by the preaching of Mahomet; on their return, they diffuſed the belief of God and the prophet; and they had already promiſed, in an interview near Mecca, to receive him, if baniſhed, as their confederate, and to defend him as their leader. The profeſſion of Iſlam became general throughout Medina; the inhabitants rejoiced in the exile, and impatiently expected the arrival of the prophet. Five hundred of the citizens advanced to meet him, and he was hailed with acclamations of royalty and devotion; his ſcattered diſciples aſſembled round his perſon; and among

among the Moſlems, the fugitives of Mecca, and the auxiliaries of Medina, were diſtinguiſhed by the various names of Mohagerians and Anſars; but the prudence of Mahomet eradicated the ſeeds of jealouſy, and the two parties vied with each other in a generous emulation of courage and fidelity.

From his eſtabliſhment at Medina, Mahomet aſſumed the exerciſe of the regal and ſacerdotal office; he erected a houſe and moſch on a ſmall ſpot of ground, the patrimony of two orphans; his ſeal was inſcribed with the apoſtolic title; and in ſix years fifteen hundred Moſlems renewed their oath of allegiance. The deputy of Mecca was aſtoniſhed by the attention of the faithful to the words and looks of the prophet. "I "have ſeen," ſaid he, "the Choſroes of Perſia, and "the Cæſar of Rome, but never did I behold a king "among his ſubjects like Mahomet among his com- "panions."

By the choice of an independent people, the ſon of Abdallah was exalted to the rank of a ſovereign, and inveſted with the prerogative of forming alliances, and of waging war. The means of perſuaſion had been tried, and he now was commanded to propagate his religion by the ſword, to deſtroy the monuments of idolatry, and to purſue the unbelieving nations of the earth. The option of friendſhip, of ſubmiſſion, or battle, was propoſed to the enemies of the prophet; and if they profeſſed the creed of Iſlam, they were admitted to the temporal and ſpiritual benefits of his primitive diſciples, and marched under the ſame banner to extend the religion they had embraced. The diſtribution of the

the ſpoil, was regulated by a divine law; a fifth was reſerved by the prophet for pious and charitable uſes, and the remainder was ſhared in adequate portions by the ſoldiers; the rewards of the ſlain devolved on their widows and orphans; and cavalry was allured by a double ſhare for man and horſe; but theſe temporal advantages were feeble compared to the joys of paradiſe prepared for the valiant martyrs of the faith. "The "ſword," ſays Mahomet, "is the key of heaven "and of hell; a drop of blood ſhed in the cauſe of "God, a night ſpent in arms, is of more avail than "two months of faſting and prayer; whoſoever falls "in battle, his ſins are forgiven. At the day of "judgment, his wounds ſhall be reſplendent as ver-"million, and odoriferous as myrrh; and the loſs of "his limbs ſhall be ſupplied by the wings of angels "and of cherubims." To this glowing picture of future rewards, the koran adds the perſuaſive tenets of fate and predeſtination; and the firſt companions of Mahomet advanced undauntedly to meet that death which they believed it impoſſible to ſhun.

The Koreiſh might have been content with the flight of Mahomet, had they not been alarmed for the ſafety of their Syrian trade; to preſerve this from the depredations of the prophet, one hundred horſe, and eight hundred and fifty foot, were aſſembled; the Moſlems conſiſted of three hundred and thirteen; and as Mahomet, in the famous vale of Beder, beheld the inferiority of his followers, "O God!" he exclaimed, "O "God, if theſe are deſtroyed, by whom wilt thou be

" worſhipped on the earth? Courage, my children, " cloſe your ranks; diſcharge your arrows, and the " day is your own " But doubtful of his force, he demanded the ſuccour of Gabriel and three thouſand angels; the Muſſulmans fainted and were preſſed; the prophet mounted his horſe; he caſt a handful of ſand into the air; " Let their faces be covered with confu- " ſion." Both armies heard the thunder of his voice; [A. D. 623.] their fancy beheld the angelic warriors; and the Koreiſh trembled and fled. Once more Abu Sophian collected a formidable body of troops; and at the head of three thouſand men, advanced to mount Ohud, ſix miles north from Medina. The ſtandard of God and Mahomet was upheld by nine hundred and fifty believers, and the weight of their charge broke the centre of the idolators; but in their purſuit, they loſt the advantage of ground, which they had previouſly poſſeſſed; their ranks were diſordered; ſeventy martyrs periſhed on the field; and the prophet himſelf, wounded in the face with a javelin, and two of his teeth ſhattered with a ſtone, was conveyed from the ſcene of tumult and diſmay, to a place of ſafety. Yet the Muſſulmans ſoon rallied in the field; and the Koreiſh wanted ſtrength or courage to undertake the ſiege of Medina. In the enſuing year, it was attacked by an army of ten thouſand enemies. The prudence of Mahomet declined a general engagement; the valour of Ali was ſignalized in ſingle combat; a tempeſt of wind, rain, and hail, overturned the tents of the confederates; and after twenty days, the Koreiſh, deſerted by their allies, relinquiſhed their

attempts

attempts to check the conquests of the invincible apostle.

The Jews had persevered in refusing their belief to the Arabian prophet; and his implacable hatred seized the occasion of an accidental tumult, and summoned them to embrace his religion, or contend with him in battle. "Alas!" replied the trembling Jews, "we "are ignorant of the use of arms; but we persevere "in the faith and worship of our fathers; why wilt "thou reduce us to the necessity of a just defence?" The unequal conflict was terminated in fifteen days; their wealth was confiscated; and their fortresses throughout Arabia, with Chaibar, the seat of their power, were reduced by the valour of Ali, and the irresistible arms of Mahomet.

The most powerful motives urged Mahomet to visit the city from which he had been banished; a rash promise of success dropped too hastily from the lips of the apostle; the holy banner was unfurled; [A. D. 629.] and seventy camels bedecked for sacrifice preceded the march to Mecca; but no sooner did the son of Abdallah descend into the plain, than the numbers and resolution of the Koreish opposed his progress; the intrepid fanatic sunk into a cautious politician; he waved in the treaty his title of apostle of God; concluded with the Koreish a truce for ten years; and stipulated only the privilege of remaining three days in the city to accomplish the rites of pilgrimage; though shame and disappointment covered the Mussulmans, yet the people were edified by the devotion of the prophet; the hostile chiefs were divided, or seduced; and both Caled and

Amrou, the future conquerors of Syria and Egypt, deſerted the ſinking cauſe of idolatry.

The ſubmiſſion of the Arabian tribes had ſwelled the forces of Mahomet; an eaſy pretence was found to break the recent treaty, and Mecca was ſuddenly inveſted by ten thouſand of the faithful. The aſtoniſhed Koreiſh ſubmitted to their irreſiſtible conqueror; and the victorious exile forgave the guilt, and united the factions of Mecca. Twenty-eight of the inhabitants were ſlain by the ſword of Caled; eleven men and ſix women only were proſcribed by Mahomet; but the three hundred and ſixty idols of the Caaba were ignominiouſly broken; the houſe of God was purified and adorned; and a perpetual law was enacted, that no unbeliever ſhould dare to ſet his foot on the territory of the holy city.

A. D. 629—632.] Though the greater number of the Arabian tribes had ſubmitted, yet an obſtinate remnant ſtill adhered to the religion and liberty of their anceſtors; four thouſand of theſe advanced with ſpeed to ſurpriſe the conqueror; and twelve thouſand Muſſulmans were for a few minutes routed and diſperſed; the prophet on his white mule, was encompaſſed with enemies; he attempted to ruſh againſt their ſpears in ſearch of a glorious death; ten of his companions interpoſed their weapons and their breaſts; and three of theſe fell dead at his feet; but his example animated his troops, and reſtored the battle; the flying Moſlems returned from all ſides, and inflicted a mercileſs revenge on the authors of their diſgrace. The victory was ſucceeded by the demolition of the temples,

temples, and the deſtruction of idols throughout Arabia; and the nation ſubmitted to the God, and the ſceptre, of Mahomet.

The rapacious ſpirit of the Saracens was ſoon inflamed by their new religion to invade the Roman empire; and the murder of an envoy afforded a decent pretence for an incurſion into Paleſtine; [A. D. 629, 630.] the holy banner was entruſted to Zeid, and the nobleſt chiefs ſerved, without reluctance, under the ſlave of the prophet. In the battle of Muta, the firſt military action of the Moſlems againſt a foreign enemy, Zeid, with the two next in command, fell in the foremoſt ranks; but the adverſe day was retrieved by Caled, the proſelyte of Mecca. His ſkilful evolutions ſecured either the victory or the retreat of the Saracens; and his valour entitled him to the appellation he acquired of the *Sword of God*. After the conqueſt of Mecca, the ſovereign of Arabia ſolemnly proclaimed war againſt the emperor of the Romans; the Moſlems were diſcouraged by the difficulties of the enterpriſe; they alleged the ſeaſon of harveſt, and the intolerable heat of ſummer: "Hell is much hotter," ſaid the indignant prophet. With Abubeker, Othman, and the faithful companions who devoted their lives and fortunes, Mahomet diſplayed his banner at the head of ten thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand foot. The diſtreſs of their march through the Deſert was aggravated by laſſitude and thirſt; and they were reduced to the neceſſity of drinking the water from the belly of the camel. About ten days journey, an equal diſtance from Medina and Damaſcus, Mahomet halted near the

fountain of Tabuc, and declined the profecution of the war beyond that place; but the active Caled ſpread around the terror of his name, and the tribes and cities from the Euphrates to Ailah, at the head of the Red Sea, acknowledge the dominion of the prophet.

The ſtrength of Mahomet, till the age of ſixty-three years, was equal to the fatigues of his miſſion; but during four years, his health declined, and he ſeriouſly believed he was poiſoned at Chaibar by the revenge of a Jewiſh female. A fever of fourteen days deprived him, at intervals, of the uſe of his reaſon; conſcious of his danger, he beheld with firmneſs the approach of death; he enfranchiſed his ſlaves; directed the order of his funeral; and moderated the lamentations of his friends. He had aſſerted, in familiar converſation, that the angel of death was not allowed to take his ſoul till he had reſpectfully aſked the permiſſion of the prophet; that permiſſion was granted; and Mahomet immediately fell into the agony of diſſolution; [A. D. 632. June 7.] he reclined his head on the lap of Ayeſha, the daughter of Abubeker, and the beſt beloved of his wives; and raiſing his eyes towards the roof of the houſe, uttered theſe broken but articulate words: "O God!—pardon my ſins—yes;—I come—among my fellow citizens on high;" and peaceably breathed his laſt on a carpet on the floor. He was interred on the ſame ſpot on which he expired; and the tomb of the prophet at Medina vies in the opinion of the pilgrim with the ſanctity of the temple at Mecca.

Though Mahomet, from the indulgence of polygamy, might reaſonably expect a numerous progeny, yet

yet his hopes were diſappointed. The four ſons of Cadijah died in their infancy; and the eleven wives who ſucceeded to her bed proved barren in his embraces. Ibrahim, the offspring of Mary, his Egyptian concubine, ſurvived only fifteen months; and of the four daughters by Cadijah, the three eldeſt were married, and died before their father; but Fatima, the fourth, who poſſeſſed his love and confidence, became the wife of her couſin Ali, and the mother of an illuſtrious progeny.

The vacant throne of Arabia appeared the juſt recompenſe of the birth, the alliance, and the character of Ali; he was the chief of the family of Haſhem, the ſon-in-law of Mahomet, and with fervent zeal for the ſervice of the prophet, united the qualifications of a poet, a ſoldier, and a ſaint. The ſon of Abu Taleb might have ſecured his intereſt by a ſolemn declaration of his right; but the dying prophet was beſieged by the artful Ayeſha, the daughter of Abubeker, and the enemy of Ali. The companions of the apoſtle convened an aſſembly to deliberate on the choice of his ſucceſſor; the line of Haſhem was ſtill hateful to the Koreiſh; and Omar, ſuddenly renouncing his own pretenſions, declared himſelf the firſt ſubject of the venerable Abubeker. The Haſhemites alone declined the oath of fidelity; and their chief for ſix months maintained in his houſe a ſullen independence; but the death of Fatima, and the decline of his party, ſubdued the indignant ſpirit of Ali, and he condeſcended to ſalute and acknowledge the commander of the faithful. After a reign of two years, the aged caliph

was ſummoned by the angel of death. His teſtament bequeathed the ſceptre to the intrepid virtue of Omar; [A. D. 634. July 24.] and Ali himſelf, in a life of privacy, profeſſed to honour the worth of his rival. In the tenth year of his reign, Omar received a mortal wound from the hand of an aſſaſſin, and devolved on ſix of the moſt reſpectable chiefs the arduous taſk of electing a commander of the faithful. By theſe Othman, the ſecretary of Mahomet, was preferred; [A. D. 644. Nov. 6] nor was it till after the third caliph, twenty-four years from the death of Mahomet, that Ali was inveſted, by the popular choice, with the regal and ſacerdotal office.

The religious diſcord of the friends and enemies of Ali is ſtill maintained in the immortal hatred of the Perſians and Turks. The former are branded with the appellation of *Shiites*; they aſſert, if Mahomet is the apoſtle, his companion Ali is the vicar, of God; and they execrate the three uſurpers who intercepted his indefeaſible right to the dignity of Imam and caliph. The *Sonnites*, who may be conſidered as the orthodox Muſſulmans, entertain a more decent opinion. They reſpect in Abubeker, Omar, Othman, and Ali, the holy ſucceſſors of the prophet; but they aſſign the laſt and moſt humble place to the huſband of Fatima. Yet the feeble temper and declining age of Othman were incapable of ſuſtaining the weight of conqueſt and of empire; the ſpirit of diſcord went forth in the provinces; the eſteem and confidence of the Moſlems were loſt; ſix weeks was he beſieged in his palace; and the aſſaſſins, with the brother of Ayeſha

at

at their head, pierced the helpleſs and venerable caliph with a multitude of wounds. [A. D. 655. June 18.] The tumult was appeaſed by the inauguration of Ali, who received with the ſceptre of Arabia the wealthy kingdoms of Perſia, Syria, and Egypt, which had been ſubdued by the victorious arms of the Saracens.

In the beginning of his reign, Telha and Zobeir, two diſcontented Arabian chiefs, eſcaped from Medina, and erected the ſtandard of revolt in Aſſyria. They were ſupported by Ayeſha, the widow of the prophet, implacable in her hatred to the huſband and the poſterity of Fatima. The rebels were encountered and defeated by Ali near the walls of Baſſora; their leaders were ſlain; and Ayeſha was ſpeedily diſmiſſed by the conqueror to her proper ſtation, the tomb of the prophet. After this victory, the ſon of Abu Taleb marched againſt a more formidable rival, Moawiyah, the ſon of Abu Sophian, who had aſſumed the title of caliph; and whoſe claim was ſupported by the forces of Syria and the intereſt of the houſe of Ommiyah. In the courſe of ninety ſkirmiſhes, Ali diſplayed his ſuperior character of valour and humanity; his troops were enjoined to ſpare their flying brethren, and he repeatedly challenged his rival to ſingle combat. But the diſobedience of his own party compelled Ali, in the moment of victory, to yield to an inſidious compromiſe; he retreated to Cufa, and the diſtant provinces of Perſia, of Yemen, and of Egypt, were reduced by his crafty rival. The diſorders of the church and ſtate inſpired three enthuſiaſts with a deſperate reſolution; they

they agreed that the deaths of Ali, of Moawiyah, and of his friend Amrou, the viceroy of Egypt, would reſtore peace and unity of religion. Each of the aſſaſſins choſe his victim; but the ſtroke proved only fatal to Ali. In the moſch of Cufa he received a mortal wound, and expired in the ſixty-third year of his age, mercifully recommending to his children, that they would diſpatch the murderer by a ſingle ſtroke.

A. D. 661.] Abu Sophian had long been the inveterate enemy of Mahomet, and his ſon now aſcended the throne eſtabliſhed by the prophet. He negociated the abdication of Haſſan, the eldeſt ſon of Ali, who retired without a ſigh from the palace of Cufa to an humble cell near the tomb of his grandfather. The change of an elective to an hereditary kingdom, gratified the aſpiring wiſhes of Moawiyah; ſome Arabs diſdained to conceal their murmurs, and four citizens of Medina refuſed the oath of fidelity; but the deſigns of the caliph were conducted with vigour and addreſs; and his ſon Yezid, a feeble and diſſolute youth, was proclaimed the commander of the faithful.

A. D. 680.] On the death of Moawiyah, Hoſein, the younger ſon of Ali, was determined to proſecute his claim againſt the authority of Yezid. A liſt was tranſported from Cufa to Medina of one hundred and forty thouſand Moſlems, who were eager to draw their ſword ſo ſoon as he ſhould appear on the banks of the Euphrates. With a feeble retinue of women and children, Hoſein traverſed the Deſert of Arabia; but as he approached the confines of Irak, he was alarmed by the

the hoſtile face of the country. Obeidollah, the governor of Cufa, had extinguiſhed the firſt ſparks of an inſurrection; his ſmall party of friends, conſiſting only of thirty-two horſe and forty foot, were ſurrounded by a numerous force; but the ſon of Ali diſdained flight, and the fidelity of his friends was preſerved to the laſt. After beholding the death of every one of them, Hoſein was himſelf ſlain by Shamer, a name ever deteſtable to the faithful. The ſiſters and children of Ali were brought in chains before the throne of Damaſcus, but Yezid preferred the counſels of mercy, and honourably diſmiſſed the mournful family to Medina.—The twelve IMAMS, according to the Perſian creed, are Ali, Haſſan, Hoſein, and the lineal deſcendants of Hoſein to the ninth generation. Without arms, or treaſures, or ſubjects, they ſucceſſively enjoyed the veneration of the people, and provoked the jealouſy of the caliphs; their names were often the pretence of ſedition and civil war; but they themſelves deſpiſed the pomp of the world, and devoted their innocent lives to the ſtudy and practice of religion. The twelfth ſurpaſſed his predeceſſors in ſanctity and ſelf-denial.—He concealed himſelf in a cavern near Bagdad; the time and place of his death are unknown; and the votaries of *Mahadi* believe that he ſtill lives, and that he will appear before the day of judgment to overthrow the tyranny of Dejal, or Antichriſt. The adverſe fortune of the race of Ali, and the wide extent of the Muſſulman empire, allowed an ample ſcope for every bold impoſtor who claimed affinity with the

the holy ſeed; the ſceptre of the Almohades in Spain and Africa, of the Fatimites in Egypt, of the ſultans of Yemen, and of the ſophis of Perſia, has been conſecrated by this vague and ambiguous title.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE CONQUEST OF PERSIA, SYRIA, EGYPT, AFRICA, AND SPAIN, BY THE ARABS AND SARACENS—EMPIRE OF THE CALIPHS, OR SUCCESSORS OF MAHOMET—STATE OF THE CHRISTIANS, &c. UNDER THEIR GOVERNMENT.

THE death of Mahomet was the ſignal of revolt to the fickle tribes of the Arabs; they were again ſubdued and united by the ſword of Caled, and the prudence of Abubeker. In the province Yemanah, between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Perſia, Moſeilama, a powerful chief, had aſſumed the character of a prophet; he was defeated and ſlain in a deciſive battle by Caled; and the various rebels of Arabia again profeſſed, and more ſtedfaſtly held the religion of the koran. But the ambition of the caliphs provided an immediate exerciſe for the reſtleſs ſpirit of the Saracens; and one hundred years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, the arms of his ſucceſſors had triumphed from India to the Atlantic Ocean. The various and diſtant provinces which acknowledged their power, may be compriſed under the name of, I. Perſia; II. Syria; III. Egypt; IV. Africa; and V. Spain.

A. D. 632.] I. Caled, in the firſt year of the reign of Abubeker, had advanced to the banks of the Euphrates, and reduced the cities of Anbar and Hira; but that chief was ſoon transferred to the Syrian war; and the

the invaſion of Perſia was committed to leſs renowned commanders. The queen Arzema, the ſixth of the tranſient uſurpers who had ariſen ſince the death of Choſroes and the retreat of Heraclius, was depoſed by the unanimous ſentence of the Perſian prieſts and nobles; and the Tiara was placed on the head of Yezdegerd, the grandſon of Choſroes. An army of one hundred and twenty thouſand Perſians, commanded by Ruſtam, was oppoſed to thirty thouſand Moſlems in the plains of Cadeſia. [A. D. 636.] In a battle long, various, and bloody, the Perſians were defeated, their general was ſlain, and the prize of the victorious Muſſulmans was the province of Irak or Aſſyria; the foundation of Baſſora, which commands the navigation of the Tigris and the Euphrates, firmly eſtabliſhed the conqueſts of the caliph.

After the victory of Cadeſia, Said, the lieutenant of Omar, aſſaulted and entered the gates of Cteſiphon; the diſorderly reſiſtance of the inhabitants gave a keener edge to the ſabres of the Moſlems, who ſhouted with religious tranſport, "This is the white palace of "Choſroes! this is the promiſe of the apoſtle of "God!" The riches of Cteſiphon are deſcribed as ſurpaſſing the eſtimate of fancy or numbers; but the Saracens diſliked the air and ſituation of the place, and Omar, by the advice of his general, removed the ſeat of government to the Weſtern ſide of the Euphrates, and founded the city of Cufa. In fourteen years the arms of the Moſlems penetrated to the ſhores of the Caſpian Sea, and turning to the Weſt, embraced, in the captive provinces of Armenia and Meſopotamia, their

their victorious brethren of the Syrian army. With equal rapidity they advanced from Cteſiphon along the Tigris and the Gulf; the grandſon of Choſroes was nearly ſurpriſed among the falling columns of Perſepolis, and fled with accelerated haſte over the deſert of Kirman, to ſeek an humble refuge on the verge of the Turkiſh and Chineſe power; but a victorious army is inſenſible of fatigue; the Arabs divided their forces in the purſuit; the caliph Othman promiſed the government of Choraſan to the firſt general who ſhould enter that country. The condition was accepted; and the ſucceſsful leader neither halted nor repoſed till his foaming cavalry had taſted the waters of the Oxus.

The flight of Yezdegerd had carried him into Fargana, a fertile province on the Jaxartes. The king of Sarmarcand, with the Turkiſh tribes of Sogdiana and Scythia, were moved by the lamentations and promiſes of the fallen monarch. With an army of Turks, he returned to conquer the inheritance of his fathers. [A. D. 651.] The fortunate Moſlems, without unſheathing their ſwords, were the ſpectators of his ruin and his death. He was oppreſſed, defeated, and purſued by his Barbarian allies; while he implored, from an inſenſible ruſtic, a paſſage over a river, the laſt of the Saſſanian kings was overtaken and ſlaughtered by the Turkiſh cavalry, in the nineteenth year of his unhappy reign.

After the fall of the Perſian kingdom, the river Oxus divided the territories of the Saracens and the Turks; but this narrow boundary was ſoon overleaped

to the conquest of Syria. The

Greeks; and the perfonal prowefs of Caled was fignalized in the firft fally of the befieged. He had overthrown and made prifoner, after an obftinate combat, one of the Chriftian leaders; and mounting a freth horfe, he preffed forward to the front of the battle; "repofe yourfelf for a moment," faid his friend Derar, "and permit me to fupply your place; "you are fatigued with fighting with this dog." "O "Derar!" replied the indefatigable Saracen, "we "fhall reft in the world to come. He that labours "to-day, fhall reft to-morrow." With the fame unabated ardour he unhorfed and vanquifhed a fecond champion; and the heads of his two captives, who refufed to abandon their religion, were indignantly hurled into Damafcus.

The danger of that city arouſed the exertions of Heraclius; an army of feventy thoufand veterans was aſſembled under his general Werdan; and the Arabian leaders, ſenſible of the importance of the conteſt, required the junction of their brethren diſperſed on the frontiers of Syria and Paleſtine; and raiſed the ſiege of Damaſcus to give battle to the forces of the emperor: at Aimadin forty-five thouſand Muſſulmans were aſſembled; and among theſe was Amrou, the future conqueror of Egypt. Though they rejected the offer of the Greeks, who would have purchaſed their departure at a liberal price, yet thoſe who, in Perſia, had ſeen the armies of Choſroes, confeſſed the more formidable appearance of the Grecian hoſt; but the ſpirit of Caled animated his companions; in two ſucceſſive engagements he ſuſtained the fury of the

enemy; and at length he gave the signal of onset and victory. [A. D. 633. July 11.] The remains of the imperial army fled to Antioch, Cæsarea, or Damascus; and the death of four hundred and seventy Moslems was compensated by the opinion, that they had sent to hell above fifty thousand infidels.

The inhabitants of Damascus beheld with terror the return of the victors of Aiznadin; but the fainting spirit of the garrison was revived by Thomas, a noble Greek, illustrious in a private condition by the alliance of Heraclius. He sallied boldly from the walls; and though wounded by the arrow of a female archer, yet the generous champion of Damascus refused to withdraw to his palace, and his wound was dressed on the ramparts. The fight was continued till the evening, and the Syrians rested on their arms; in the silence of the night, a signal was given by a stroke on the great bell; the seven gates of Damascus were again thrown open; and each gate discharged an impetuous column on the sleeping camp of the Saracens: but the valour and victory of Thomas was checked by the presence of Caled; "O God!" exclaimed the chief, as he flew to the post of danger, "O God, who never sleepest, look "upon thy servants, and do not deliver them into the "hands of their enemies." The flame of enthusiasm was kindled by his example; the Moslems recovered their ranks; and the Christian hero, after the loss of thousands, retired, with a sigh of despair, within the walls of Damascus.

The patience of the citizens was near exhausted by a siege of seventy days; an hundred of their deputies were

were introduced into the tent of Abu Obeidah, and dismissed, with an agreement, that the voluntary emigrants might depart with as much as they could carry away of their effects; and that the tributary subjects of the caliph should enjoy, with their lands and houses, the use and possession of seven churches; but at the moment that the nearest gate was delivered into the hands of the Arabian chief, the opposite quarter was surprised by Caled. The sword of that ferocious leader was reluctantly sheathed by the superior authority of Abu Obeidah; a large majority of the people accepted the terms of toleration and tribute; but the valiant Thomas, with the patriots who had fought under his banner, embraced the alternative of poverty and exile. In an adjacent meadow a feeble encampment was formed of soldiers and citizens, of women and children; and the inflexible Caled as he beheld their distress, augmented it, by the stern declaration, that after a respite of three days, they might be pursued and treated as the enemies of the Moslems.

It is possible that the sanguinary ardour of Caled, who was confined four days to the city by the obligation of the treaty, and the cares of his new conquest, would have been extinguished by the distance of the fugitives, had it not been fanned by the passion of a Syrian youth. Jonas a nobleman of Damascus, was betrothed to a wealthy maiden; their nuptials were delayed by her parents; and Eudocia was persuaded to escape with the man whom she had chosen; in this attempt, Jonas was intercepted by the Arabs, but his mistress effected her return. The captive lover em-

braced the profession of Islam, and when the city was taken, presented himself before Eudocia; but the apostate was rejected, and his importunities now stimulated Caled to the pursuit of the unhappy exiles. At the head of four thousand horse, the Arabian chief, with his enamoured proselyte, traversed the ridges of the Libanus, and encountered difficulties which could only be surmounted by enthusiasm, or love. At length the Christians were overtaken; the promiscuous multitude, already vanquished by fatigue and sorrow, were suddenly assaulted; and except a captive that was dismissed, the Arabs enjoyed the satisfaction of believing that not a Christian of either sex escaped the edge of their scymetars. In the tumult of the battle, Jonas fought and found the object of his pursuit; but her resentment was inflamed by the last act of his perfidy; and as Eudocia struggled in his hateful embraces, she struck a dagger to his heart. In this enterprise, Caled had penetrated above an hundred and fifty miles into the midst of the Roman province; and he returned to Damascus with the same secrecy and speed.

From Damascus the Saracens proceeded to Heliopolis and Emesa; [A. D. 635.] and though the conquest of the plain and valley of Syria was atchieved in less than two years, yet the commander of the faithful reproved the slowness of their progress. The emperor had already collected a second army more numerous than the first. Fourscore thousand soldiers were transported by land, or sea, to Antioch and Cæsarea; sixty thousand Christian Arabs, of the tribe of Gassan,

marched under the banner of Jabalah, the last of their princes. The command of the Moslems was resigned, by the modesty of Abu Obeidah, to the superior merit of Caled; and his exhortation to his followers was brief and forcible. "Paradise is before you; the devil and hell-fire in your rear." A. D. 636. November 1. Yet the veterans of Syria acknowledged that the battle of Yermuk was the hardest of the days they had seen. Four thousand and thirty of the Moslems were buried in the field: but of the Greeks and the Syrians many thousands fell by the swords of the Arabs: many were slaughtered in the adjacent woods and mountains; and many by mistaking the ford, were drowned in the waters of the Yermuk. The Roman army no longer appeared in the field; and Jerusalem was soon after invested, on every side, by the arms of Abu Obeidah. For four months the Christians sustained the incessant assaults of the besiegers; [A. D. 637.] but their strength was exhausted; and the patriarch Sophronius proposed a fair capitulation, with the extraordinary clause, that the articles should be ratified by the authority and presence of the caliph Omar.

The commander of the faithful accepted the condition; and the journey of the conqueror of Persia and Syria, is performed with primæval simplicity. He was mounted on a red camel, which carried, besides his person, a bag of corn, a bag of dates, a wooden dish, and a leathern bottle of water. After signing the capitulation, he entered the city without fear or precaution: his prompt return to the tomb of the apostle relieved the jealous fears of Medina, lest the caliph might

might be detained by the sanctity of Jerusalem, or the beauty of Damascus.

The castle of Aleppo for five months exercised, and almost exhausted the patience of the Saracens; it was at length surprised by Dames, an Arabian of servile birth, but of gigantic size and intrepid resolution. [A. D. 638.] Antioch trembled at the approach of the victors; her safety was ransomed by three hundred thousand pieces of gold; but the seat of the Roman government in the East was degraded, under the yoke of the caliphs, to the secondary rank of a provincial town. The mind of Heraclius was astonished at the rapid success of the disciples of Mahomet; the weakness of his declining years clouded the glory of his Persian triumphs; bidding an eternal farewell to Syria, he secretly embarked, with a few attendants, and dissolved the faith of his subjects. The remainder of the province no longer disputed the will of the conqueror, and Syria bowed under the sceptre of the caliphs seven hundred years after Pompey had despoiled the last of the Macedonian kings. The triumph of the Saracens was checked by a dreadful mortality of men and cattle; twenty-five thousand of the faithful were snatched from the possession of Syria; among these was Abu Obeidah; and the invincible Caled survived his leader but three years.

To the *North* of Syria the victorious Moslems reduced Cilicia, with its capital Tarsus; [A. D. 639—655.] and spread the flames of war to the shores of the Euxine, and the neighbourhood of Constantinople. To the *East*, they levelled the walls of Edessa and Amida,

da, of Dara and Niſibis, in the duſt; and confounded, for ever, the long diſputed barrier of Rome and Perſia. To the *Weſt* they occupied the hills of Libanus, abounding in timber, and Phœnicia populous in mariners. A fleet of ſeventeen hundred barks was equipped; and the imperial navy of the Romans fled before the natives of the Deſert. The Saracens rode maſters of the ſea; and the iſlands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Cyclades, were ſucceſſively expoſed to their rapacious viſits.

III. Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt, was the offſpring of a notorious proſtitute, who adjudged the child, from the proof of reſemblance, to Aaſi, the oldeſt of her lovers. The merit of Amrou had been diſplayed in all the battles and ſieges of Syria; and he united, with the temper of a chief, the valour of an adventurous ſoldier. In a viſit to Medina, the Caliph Omar expreſſed a wiſh to ſurvey the ſword which had cut down ſo many Chriſtian warriors. The ſon of Aaſi unſheathed a ſhort and ordinary ſcymetar; and as he perceived the ſurpriſe of Omar, "Alas," ſaid the modeſt Saracen, "the ſword itſelf, without "the arm of its maſter, is neither ſharper nor more "weighty than the ſword of Pharazdak the poet." From his camp in Paleſtine, Amrou had ſurpriſed the caliph's leave for the invaſion of Egypt. Omar truſted indeed in God; but when he compared the ſlender force of the Moſlems with the greatneſs of the enterpriſe, he condemned his own raſhneſs; in this perplexity he reſigned himſelf to the deciſion of chance. Amrou had marched away from his ſtation of Gaza, at the head of only four thouſand Arabs, when he was

overtaken by the weakness of Omar. "If you are "still in Syria," said the ambiguous mandate, "retreat "without delay: but if, at the receipt of this epistle, "you have already reached the frontier of Egypt, "advance with confidence, and depend on the suc- "cour of God and of your brethren." Amrou was perhaps already apprised of the contents of the letter he continued his march till his tents were unquestionably pitched on Egyptian ground. He then broke the seal in the presence of his officers, gravely enquired the situation of the place, and professed his obedience to the commands of the caliph.

Pelusium, the key of Egypt, surrendered to the arms of the faithful in thirty days. Memphis sustained a siege of seven months, and a new city, by the name of Fostat, was raised on the eastern bank of the Tigris, and now is confounded with the contiguous quarters of Babylon, by the appellation of Old Misrah or Cairo. The progress of the Arabs was facilitated by the jacobite church, and by the Copts, who rejected the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon, which pronounced the Christ in one person, but in two natures. These consented to pay tribute to the temporal successors of Mahomet; and in his march from Memphis to Alexandria, Amrou entrusted his safety to the zeal and gratitude of the Egyptians.

By the retreat of the Greeks from the province of Upper Egypt, a considerable force was collected in the island of Delta. The natural and artificial channels of the Nile afforded a succession of strong posts, and the road to Alexandria was cleared by the sedi-

tious

cens in two and twenty days of ...

nals of conquest, the siege of Alexandria is perhaps the most arduous enterprise, and the efforts of the Arabs were not inadequate to the prize. The veterans of Syria, and the roving tribes of Arabia, were excited by the fertility of Egypt; the dates and camels of the besieged were repaired; and in every attack the superior ... of fourteen months, and the loss of three and twenty thousand men, the Saracens prevailed, and the standard of Mahomet was planted on the walls of the capital of Egypt. The intelligence of this dishonourable event afflicted the declining health of the emperor, and Heraclius died of the dropsy about seven weeks after the loss of Alexandria. Under the minority of his grandson, the Byzantine court undertook the recovery of the capital of Egypt. The armies and fortifications of Alexandria were twice, in four years, occupied by a fleet and army of Romans, who were twice expelled by the valour of Amrou, who published the third attempt by ... and severed the Christ in one person, but in two persons.

The liberal spirit of Amrou was ... with the conversation of John, ... Philoponus, from the various ... grammar; at his request the Arabian chief was willing to gratify him with the present of the Alexandrian library; but his right ... confute the caliph, the answer of Omar was that of a fanatic: "If the writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useless, and need no ... pre-

"preserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious, and "ought to be destroyed." The sentence was executed with blind obedience; and such was the incredible number of the volumes, that six months they supplied with fuel the four thousand baths of the city.

The conquest of Africa, from the Nile to the Atlantic, was first attempted by the arms of the caliph Othman. An army of forty thousand Arabians was commanded by Abdallah, who supplanted the conqueror and lieutenant of Egypt. The early conversion of Abdallah, and his skilful pen, had recommended him to the important office of transcribing the koran; he had betrayed his trust, corrupted the text, derided the errors which he had made, and fled to Mecca to escape the justice of the apostle; when that city was reduced, his pardon was reluctantly granted to the intreaties of Othman. In a nation of cavalry, Abdallah was renowned as the boldest and most dextrous horseman. From Egypt, he advanced into the unknown countries of the West; and, after a painful march, he pitched his tents before the walls of Tripoli, a maritime city. The siege of it was interrupted by the approach of the prefect Gregory; the forces of the empire, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand men, were defeated by the invincible Moslems; Gregory himself fell by the hand of Zobeir, who afterwards became the adversary of Ali, and the father of a caliph. But though the provincials on all sides implored the mercy of the conqueror, yet his losses, and the progress of an epidemical disease, prevented a permanent establishment; and the Saracens, after a

campaign

campaign of fifteen months, retired towards the confines of Egypt.

The Western conquests of the Saracens were suspended by their dissensions near twenty years; and the arms of the caliph Moawiyah were invited by the oppression of the Byzantine ministers, and the cries of the Africans themselves. [A. D. 665.] The title of conqueror of Africa is due to the renowned Akbah. He marched from Damascus at the head of ten thousand of the bravest Arabs; penetrated through Numidia, and reached the verge of the Atlantic, and the great Desert. The career of Akbah was checked by the prospect of a boundless ocean; he spurred his horse into the waves, and exclaimed in the tone of a fanatic, "Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on, to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other God than thee."—Yet Akbah was unable to preserve his recent conquests. Deserted by the Greeks and Africans, the surrounding multitude only left him the consolation of an honourable death. His successor Zuher avenged and encountered his fate; after a series of victories, he was vanquished and slain by an army sent from Constantinople.

The return of domestic peace allowed the caliph Abdalmalek to resume the conquest of Africa. [A. D. 692—698.] Hassan, governor of Egypt, was entrusted with the standard, and an army of forty thousand men. The predecessors of Hassan had respected the name and fortifications of Carthage; those were assaulted by Hassan;

Hassan; but he had scarce taken possession of the prize, before his triumph was disturbed by the appearance of the Christian succours. The forces of the Eastern empire were strengthened by a detachment of Goths; and Hassan was compelled to retire to Tripoli. In the ensuing spring he was reinforced by the commander of the faithful; the Christians were defeated in two battles; and whatever remained of Carthage was delivered by the victor to the flames.

But the veteran bands of Hassan, though equal to the conquest, were inadequate to the defence of Africa. [A. D. 698—709.] The natives, supported by the Moors, rose in arms on every side. The conquest of an age was lost in a day; and the Arabian chief, overwhelmed by the torrent, retired towards the confines of Egypt; but the fickle Africans were soon tired of the Moorish tyranny. Hassan was again recalled; his successor was expelled by a similar insurrection; and it was not till the appointment of Musa, and his two sons, that the spirit of rebellion was finally quelled.

V. The fortress of Ceuta belonged in that age, as well as the present, to the kings of Spain; it is divided by a narrow straight from the opposite point of Europe. Musa, in the pride of victory, had been repulsed from the walls by the courage of count Julian, the general of the Goths. The Arabian chief was relieved from his perplexity by a message from the Christian governor, who offered his place, his person, and his sword to the successors of Mahomet. The Spaniards have accounted for this treachery by the popular story of his daughter being ravished by their sovereign; but

their

their own history presents motives more congenial to a veteran Italian. On the death of Witiza, his two sons were supplanted by Roderic, a noble Goth, educated on the steps of a throne, though the monarchy was elective, the sons of Witiza were impatient of a private station, their followers were excited by the remembrance of past favours, and the hopes of a revolution; and among this party it is probable was count Julian. The aid of a foreign power was necessary, he invited, and exposed the weakness of Spain to the Moors and Saracens; and Musa, having obtained the permission of the caliph Walid, prepared for the enterprise.

A. D. 710.] The first descent of the faithful was made by one hundred Arabs, and four hundred Africans. Their spoil, and the safety of their return, announced to their brethren the most favourable omens of victory. [A. D. 711.] In the ensuing spring, five thousand veterans and volunteers were embarked under the command of Tarik, a dauntless and skilful soldier. Edeco, the lieutenant of the Spanish monarch, was vanquished by their arms, and Roderic himself, on whom the Arabians bestow the title of king of the Romans, advanced to oppose their progress at the head of ninety thousand men. The Saracens had been augmented to twelve thousand, they were reinforced by the Christian malcontents, and a crowd of Africans. The armies met near the town of Xeres, two leagues from Cadiz; three successive days were spent in bloody skirmishes, but the fourth proved decisive. My brethren, said Tarik, to retreat is to perish: the sea is behind you, and the Saracens

giving

giving way, "the enemy is before you, the sea is be-
"hind; whither would you fly? Follow your gene-
"ral: I am resolved either to lose my life, or to tram-
"ple on the prostrate king of the Goths." His ex-
ample restored the battle; the desertion of the two sons
of Witiza confounded the ranks of the Christians;
and the Gothic army was scattered or destroyed in the
flight or pursuit of the three following days. Roderic
himself escaped a soldier's death to perish more ignobly
in the waters of the Bætis. The city of Cordova was
assaulted and taken; the sea-coast of Bætica was re-
duced; and Tarik directing his march from the Bætis
to the Tagus, appeared in arms under the walls of To-
ledo. The gates were opened to the victors on a fair
and reasonable capitulation. The policy of Tarik libe-
rally rewarded the Jews, to whose secret or open aid he
was indebted for his most important acquisitions; and
his march beyond the Asturian mountains was only
terminated by the maritime town of Gijon.

The envy of Musa was provoked by the success of
his lieutenant. At the head of ten thousand Arabs
he passed over in person from Mauritania to Spain, and
reduced by famine the ancient capital of Lusitania.
The interview between Musa and Tarik was cold and
formal; the former demanded a strict account of the
treasures of Spain; and the gallant Tarik was impri-
soned, reviled, and scourged by the command of Musa.
Yet so pure was the zeal of the primitive Moslems, that
after this indignity, Tarik could serve and be trusted
with the reduction of the Tarragonese province.

The exploits of Musa were performed in the evening

of

of life, but his breaſt was ſtill filled with the ardour of youth; the poſſeſſion of Spain was conſidered by him as only the firſt ſtep to the monarchy of Europe. With a powerful armament by ſea and land, he was preparing to repaſs the Pyrenees, to extinguiſh in Gaul and Italy the kingdoms of the Franks and Lombards, and to preach the unity of God on the altar of the vatican; from thence, ſubduing the Barbarians of Germany, he propoſed to follow the courſe of the Danube from its ſource to the Euxine Sea, to overthrow the Greek or Roman empire of Conſtantinople, and to unite his new acquiſitions with Antioch and the provinces of Syria. But the viſionary conqueror was ſoon reminded of his dependance and ſervitude. The wrongs of Tarik had been ſtated at the court of Damaſcus; and Muſa was recalled by a peremptory ſummons. His long triumph from Ceuta to Damaſcus diſplayed the ſpoils of Africa, and the treaſures of Spain. But as ſoon as he reached Tiberias in Paleſtine, he was apprized of the ſickneſs and danger of the caliph, by his brother Soliman, his preſumptive heir, who wiſhed to preſerve for his own reign the ſpectacle of victory. Had Walid recovered, the delay of Muſa would have been criminal; he purſued his march, and found Soliman on the throne. In his trial before a partial judge, he was convicted of vanity and falſehood; the indignity offered to Tarik was avenged by a ſimilar puniſhment; the veteran commander was publicly whipped, and baniſhed under the pretence of a pilgrimage to Mecca. The fears of the caliph demanded the extirpation of the injured family; Abdelaziz, the eldeſt ſon of Muſa, was ſlain under

under the pretence of a treacherous correspondence; his head was thrown to the father with the insulting question, whether he acknowledged the features of the rebel? "I know his features," he exclaimed with indignation; "I abhor his impotence; and I imprecate "the flame, a jealous fire, against the authors of his "death." The age and despair of Musa sullied him above the power of kings, and he expired in Mecca of the anguish of a broken heart.

The province of Spain, which had been scientifically tinctured with Punic, and Roman, and Gothic blood, imbibed, in a few generations, the manners of the Arabs. The victorious bands of Tarik and Musa asserted, by the name of Spaniards, their original claim of conquest; yet they allowed their brethren of Egypt to share their establishments of Mecca and Lisbon. In the space of two centuries, the gifts of nature were improved by the agriculture, the manufactures, and the commerce of an industrious people; and the dominion of the Arabs may be considered as the most prosperous æra of the riches, the cultivation, and the population of Spain.

The wars of the Moslems were sanctified by the prophet; but among his various precepts, the caliphs selected the lessons of toleration, that might tend to disarm the resistance of the unbelievers. The disciples of Abraham, of Moses, and of Jesus, were solemnly invited to accept the more powerful revelation of Mahomet; but if they preferred the payment of a moderate tribute, they were entitled to the freedom of conscience and religious worship. The progress of their

arms

from Tarſus to Surat, will ſpread on every ſide to the
extremities of four or five months of the march of a cara-
van; while the progreſs of the Mahometan religion
diffuſed over this ample ſpace a general reſemblance of
manners and opinions.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE TWO SIEGES OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE ARABS—THEIR INVASION OF FRANCE, AND DEFEAT BY CHARLES MARTEL—CIVIL WAR OF THE OMMIADES AND ABBASSIDES—LEARNING OF THE ARABS—LUXURY OF THE CALIPHS—NAVAL ENTERPRISES ON CRETE, SICILY, AND ROME—DECAY AND DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE CALIPHS—DEFEATS AND VICTORIES OF THE GREEK EMPERORS.

FORTY-SIX years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, his disciples appeared in arms under the walls of Constantinople. The prophet had asserted, that the sins of the first army which besieged the city of the Cæsars, were forgiven; and the caliph Moawiyah was impatient by this meritorious expedition to expiate the guilt of civil blood. His standard was entrusted to Sophian, a veteran warrior; and the troops were animated by the presence of Yezid, the son and presumptive heir of the commander of the faithful. [A. D. 668.] The naval forces of the Saracens passed through the unguarded channel of the Hellespont, and the troops were disembarked near the palace of Hebdomon, seven miles from the city. But the solid and lofty walls of Constantinople were guarded by numbers and discipline; and the Arabs were dismayed by the strange and prodigious effects of artificial fire. This effectual resistance diverted their arms to the more easy

eaſy ſpoil of the adjacent country; and on the approach of winter, they retreated to the iſle of Cyzicus, fourſcore miles from the capital, where they had eſtabliſhed their magazines of plunder and proviſions. Yet ſo patient was their perſeverance, that they repeated in the ſix following ſummers the ſame attack and retreat; till the gradual loſs of thirty thouſand Moſlems compelled them to relinquiſh the fruitleſs enterpriſe.

The event of the ſiege raiſed the reputation of the Roman arms; the Greek ambaſſador was favourably received at Damaſcus; a truce of thirty years was ratified between the two empires; and the commander of the faithful was reduced to ſubmit to the annual tribute of fifty horſes of a noble breed, fifty ſlaves, and three thouſand pieces of gold. [A. D. 677.] This was raiſed during the revolt of Arabia and Perſia to a ſlave, an horſe, and a thouſand pieces of gold for each of the three hundred and ſixty-five days of the ſolar year; but no ſooner had Abdalmalek united again the empire, than he diſclaimed the badge of ſervitude, and diſcontinued the tribute; and the Greeks were diſabled from action by the mad tyranny of Juſtinian the Second, and the frequent change of his ſucceſſors.

The ſecond ſiege of Conſtantinople was undertaken in the reign of the caliph Soliman. [A. D. 716.] Anaſtaſius, who then ſwayed the Roman ſceptre, conceived the deſign of burning the naval ſtores of the enemy; but the enterpriſe was defeated by the treachery of the troops, who murdered their chief, and inveſted Theodoſius, a ſimple officer of the revenue, with the purple. Theodoſius, after a precarious reign of ſome

months, ſunk into the cloyſter, and reſigned the throne, with the defence of the capital and the empire, to the firmer hand of Leo, the Iſaurian. Moſlemah, the brother of the caliph, inveſted Conſtantinople with an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand Arabs and Perſians; and expected the approach of the navies of Egypt and Syria. The hoſtile fleet of eighteen hundred ſhips appeared before the mouth of the harbour; but while they heſitated whether they ſhould enter it, the fire-ſhips of the Greeks were launched againſt them; and in a few hours an armada was deſtroyed which threatened to extirpate the Roman name. The death of the caliph Soliman was ſtill a more fatal and irreparable loſs; Omar, who ſucceeded him, was a ſcrupulous and inactive bigot; the ſiege was continued through the winter rather by his neglect than reſolution; the ſeaſon proved uncommonly rigorous; the natives of Egypt and Arabia lay torpid and almoſt lifeleſs, in their frozen camp; diſeaſe and famine had entered their tents; and the hopeleſs Moſlemah, after a ſiege of thirteen months, received from the caliph the welcome permiſſion of retreat.

The deliverance of Conſtantinople may be principally aſcribed to the terrors and the efficacy of the *Greek fire*. From the obſcure hints of the Byzantine writers, it ſhould ſeem that the principal ingredient was the *naptha*, or liquid bitumen; this was mingled with ſulphur, and the pitch that is extracted from green firs; and ſand, urine, or vinegar, were the only remedies that could damp the fury of this powerful agent, which was nouriſhed and quickened by the element of water; and

and was juſtly denominated by the Greeks the *liquid*, or the *maritime*, fire. For four hundred years the ſecret of the compoſition was confined, by the moſt jealous precautions, to the Romans of the Eaſt; it was at length diſcovered and ſtole by the Mahometans; and was continued to be uſed to the middle of the fourteenth century, when the compound of nitre, ſulphur, and charcoal, effected a new revolution in the art of war.

The Greek fire might preſerve Conſtantinople, and exclude the Arabs from the Eaſtern entrance of Europe; but in the Weſt, on the ſide of the Pyrenees, the conquerors of Spain ſoon invaded the provinces of Gaul. [A. D. 721.] The weakneſs of the race of Clovis had delegated all power to the mayor of the palace, and that domeſtic officer was become the miniſter of the nation, and the maſter of his prince. The nobles were tempted to deſpiſe the imbecility of the monarch, and to imitate the ambition of the mayor.—Among theſe, the moſt ſucceſsful was Eudes, duke of Aquitain, who in the ſouthern provinces of Gaul uſurped the authority and title of king. The firſt invaſion of the Saracens was repelled by his arms; but the ambition of the Moſlems was ſtimulated by revenge; they repaſſed the Pyrenees; occupied Narbonne, Languedoc, Gaſcony, and Bourdeaux; and the ſouth of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone, aſſumed the manners and religion of Arabia.

The ſpirit of Abderame ſcorned theſe narrow limits; the veteran commander adjudged to the obedience of

the prophet whatever yet remained of France or of Europe; at the head of a formidable hoſt he prepared to execute the ſentence. Near Arles an army of Chriſtians, who attempted the relief of that city, was defeated; the victorious Abderame paſſed without oppoſition the Garonne and Dordogne; and Eudes, who beyond thoſe rivers had collected another army, was overthrown in a ſecond battle. The Saracens overran the provinces of Aquitain, planted their ſtandards on the walls of Tours and Sens, and ravaged the kingdom of Burgundy as far as the cities of Lyons and Beſançon.

The danger which threatened Chriſtendom was averted by the genius and fortune of Charles, the illegitimate ſon of the elder Pepin; and who, with the titles of mayor or duke of the Franks, reſtored the dignity of the throne, and cruſhed the rebels of Germany and Gaul. In the public danger, he was ſummoned by the voice of his country; and his rival, the duke of Aquitain, was reduced to appear among the fugitives and ſuppliants. No ſooner had he collected his forces, than he ſought and found the enemy between Tours and Poitiers. During the ſix firſt days of deſultory combat, the horſemen and archers of the Eaſt maintained their advantage; but in the cloſer onſet of the ſeventh day, the Orientals were oppreſſed by the ſtrength and ſtature of the Germans. The epithet of *Martel*, the *hammer*, which has been added to the name of Charles, was expreſſive of his weighty ſtrokes; and the valour of Eudes was provoked by reſentment and emulation. Abderame was ſlain; the Saracens retired

retired to their camp; the various tribes turned their arms againſt each other, and each *emir* conſulted his ſafety by a ſeparate retreat. Aquitain was recovered by the arms of Eudes; the Arabs never reſumed the conqueſt of Gaul; and they were ſoon driven beyond the Pyrenees by Charles Martel and his valiant race.

The loſs of an army in the Weſtern world was leſs painful to the court of Damaſcus than the progreſs of a domeſtic competitor. The caliphs of the houſe of Ommiyah were favourably regarded by the Syrians alone; and the eyes of the faithful were turned towards the line of Haſhem, and the kindred of the apoſtle of God. The line of the Fatimites was either raſh or puſillanimous; but the deſcendants of Abbas, the uncle of Mahomet, cheriſhed with diſcretion the hopes of their riſing fortunes. [A. D. 746.] Ibrahim, the fifth in deſcent from Abbas, was ſupported by the wiſhes of the province of Choraſan; and the governor was driven from the city and palace of Meru by the arms of Abu Moſlem, the author, as he is termed, of the *Call* of the Abbaſſides. In the diſtinction of parties, the Fatimites aſſumed the *green;* the Ommiades the *white;* and the *black* was adopted by the Abbaſſides. From the Indus to the Euphrates, the Eaſt was convulſed by the quarrel of the white and black factions; Ibrahim was indeed ſeized by a detachment of cavalry, and periſhed in the dungeons of Haran; but his two younger brothers, Saffah, and Almanſor, eluded the ſearch of the tyrant; and Saffah, fortified by the approach of his Eaſtern friends,

aſcended the pulpit, and preached as the lawful ſucceſſor of the prophet. On the banks of the Zab, the important conteſt was decided; the caliph, Mervan the Fourteenth, and the laſt of the houſe of Ommiyah, animated his army by his preſence and example; but he was forced to yield to the enthuſiaſm of the black troops, conducted by Abdallah, the uncle of his competitor. The vanquiſhed caliph croſſed the Euphrates, and, without halting in Paleſtine, pitched his laſt camp on the banks of the Nile; he was purſued and attacked by Abdallah; [A. D. 750. Feb. 10.] and the lance of an Abbaſſide terminated the life of Mervan, and eſtabliſhed the authority of Saffah.

In the proſcription of the Ommiades, a royal youth of the name of Abdalrahman alone eſcaped the rage of his enemies, and reached the vallies of Mount Atlas. His preſence in the neighbourhood of Spain revived the zeal of the white faction; the acclamations of the people ſaluted his landing on the coaſt of Andaluſia; [A. D. 755.] and Abdalrahman, after a ſucceſsful ſtruggle, eſtabliſhed the throne of Cordova, and was the father of the Ommiades in Spain, who reigned above two hundred and fifty years from the Atlantic to the Pyrenees. The example of the Ommiades was imitated by the real or fictitious progeny of Ali, the Edriſſites of Mauritania, and the more powerful Fatimites of Africa and Egypt. In the tenth century, the chair of Mahomet was diſputed by three caliphs, who reigned at Bagdad, Cordova, and Cairoan, a city of Africa founded by Akbah; the three rivals excommunicated each other, and agreed only in a principle of

of diſcord, that a ſectary is more odious than an unbeliever.

Almanſor, the brother and ſucceſſor of Saffah, laid the foundations of Bagdad, the imperial ſeat of his poſterity; the choſen ſpot is on the Eaſtern bank of the Tigris; and ſuch was the rapid increaſe of the new capital, that the funeral of a popular ſaint might be attended by eight hundred thouſand men, and ſixty thouſand women of Bagdad and the adjacent villages. The Abbaſſides ſoon diſdained the abſtinence of the firſt caliphs, and aſpired to emulate the magnificence of the Perſian kings; Almanſor left behind him, after his wars and buildings, in gold and ſilver, about thirty millions ſterling. This treaſure was exhauſted in a few years by the oſtentatious liberality of his children; and their profuſion was equalled by the Ommiades of Spain, who ſupported with rival pomp the title of commander of the faithful.

Under the reign of the Ommiades, the ſtudies of the Moſlems were confined to the interpretation of the koran, and the eloquence and poetry of their native tongue. After their civil and domeſtic wars, the ſubjects of the Abbaſſides found leiſure, and felt curioſity, for the acquiſition of profane ſcience. This ſpirit was firſt encouraged by the caliph Almanſor, who ſucceſsfully applied himſelf to the ſtudy of aſtronomy; his deſigns were completed by his grandſon Almamon, who diligently collected from Conſtantinople, Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, the volumes of Grecian ſcience. The zeal and curioſity of Almamon were imitated by ſucceeding princes of the line of Abbas;

Abbas; their rivals the Fatimites of Africa, and the Ommiades of Spain, were equally the patrons of the learned; and the rewards of literature were diffuſed from Samarcand and Bochara to Fez and Cordova.

The Arabs applied themſelves principally to the ſciences of aſtronomy and medicine; the aſtronomical tables of Bagdad, Spain, and Samarcand, correct ſome minute errors, without daring to renounce the hypotheſis of Ptolemy; and the wiſdom and honeſty of the aſtronomer are debaſed by the vain predictions of aſtrology; but in the ſcience of medicine, the Arabians have been deſervedly applauded. The names of Meſua and Geber, of Razis and Avicenna, are ranked with the Grecian maſters; and in Spain, the life of the catholic princes was entruſted to the ſkill of the Saracens. To their induſtry, *chemiſtry* owes its origin and improvement. They firſt invented and named the alembic for the purpoſes of diſtillation, analyſed the ſubſtances of the three kingdoms of nature, tried the diſtinction and affinities of alkalis and acids, and converted the poiſonous minerals into ſoft and ſalutary medicines. But as the Arabs advanced in learning, that invincible enthuſiaſm, which was excited by the thirſt of martyrdom, and the viſion of paradiſe, inſenſibly abated; the ſword of the Saracens became leſs formidable when their youth was drawn away from the camp to the college, and when the armies of the faithful preſumed to read and reflect.

During the diſſenſions of the Ommiades and Abbaſſides, the diſgrace of tribute was impoſed on the commanders of the faithful; a ſevere retribution was exacted

exacted by Mohadi, the third caliph of the new dynasty. His second son, Harun, encamped under the walls of Constantinople, whilst Irene, and her infant son Constantine, were seated on the Byzantine throne. [A. D. 781.] The retreat of the Saracens was purchased by the empress with an annual tribute of seventy thousand dinars of gold. Five years after this expedition, Harun, known by the surname of *Al Rashid, the Just*, ascended the throne of his father, and his elder brother Nicephorus, who succeeded Irene, refused the tribute, and resolved to obliterate this badge of servitude and disgrace. "Restore," said he, in his letter to the caliph, "the fruits of your injustice, or abide the "determination of the sword." The answer of the caliph was of tremendous brevity: "In the name of "the most merciful God, Harun al Rashid, com"mander of the faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman "dog. I have read thy letter, O thou son of an un"believing mother. Thou shall not hear, thou shalt "behold my reply." It was written in characters of blood and fire on the plains of Phrygia; and the warlike celerity of the Arabs could only be checked by the deceitful professions of repentance. But the triumphant caliph had scarcely retired before the peace was violated by Nicephorus. His return was attended by the defeat of the perfidious Greek, who escaped from the field of battle with three wounds; the torrent of the invaders deluged the surface of Asia Minor, and swept away the pontic Heraclea; Nicephorus was compelled to submit, and the coin of the tribute was marked with the image and superscription of Harun

and his three ſons. Theſe, after the death of their father, were involved in civil diſcord; and the conqueror, the liberal Almamon, engaged in the introduction of ſcience, tacitly relinquiſhed his claim to the Roman tribute.

A band of Andaluſians, the ſubjects of the *white* party, had invaded the dominions of the black caliphs. They had poſſeſſed themſelves of Alexandria; but the approach of Almamon himſelf compelled them to retire. The fertility of Crete, which they had already taſted, attracted their deſires; with forty gallies they returned to the attack; [A. D. 823.] they wandered fearleſs and unmoleſted, over the iſland; but when they deſcended with their plunder to the ſea coaſt, their veſſels were in flames. Their chief Abu Caab confeſſed himſelf the author of the miſchief; "of "what do you complain?" ſaid the crafty emir; "I "have brought you to a land flowing with milk and "honey. Here is your true country; repoſe from "your toils, and forget the barren place of your na- "tivity." "And our wives and children?" "Your "beauteous captives will ſupply the place of your "wives, and in their embraces you will ſoon become the "fathers of a new progeny;" the advice was reliſhed; the timber of Mount Ida ſoon repaired the loſs of their navy; and theſe licentious corſairs, for one hundred and thirty-eight years, derided the ineffectual arms and curſes of the princes of Conſtantinople.

The ſeverity of the Grecian emperor had condemned an amorous youth to the amputation of his tongue, for ſtealing a nun from her cloyſter. Euphemius appealed

pealed to the reaſon and policy of the Saracens of Africa; and ſoon returned with the imperial purple, a fleet of one hundred ſhips, and an army of ſeven hundred horſe, and ten thouſand foot; [A. D. 827.] but the apoſtate was ſlain before the walls of Syracuſe, and his African friends were reſcued from impending ruin by a reinforcement of their Andaluſian brethren. For fifty years Syracuſe maintained the faith which ſhe had ſworn to Chriſt and to Cæſar; [A. D. 878.] in the laſt and fatal ſiege the citizens withſtood the aſſaults of the beſiegers above twenty days; but with the capture of Syracuſe, the religion and language of the Greeks, in Sicily, were eradicated; the Arabian ſquadrons iſſued from the harbours of Palermo, Biſerta, and Tunis, and plundered the coaſts of Calabria and Campania; and Italy muſt have fallen an eaſy acceſſion to the empire of the prophet, had the Mahometans been united: but the caliphs of Bagdad had loſt their authority: the Aglabites and Fatimites uſurped the provinces of Africa; the emirs of Sicily aſpired to independence; and the arms of the Moſlems were confined to predatory inroads.

Rome partook in the ſufferings of proſtrate Italy; a fleet of Saracens from the African coaſt entered the Tyber; [A. D. 846.] they inſulted the ſuburbs, and pillaged with rapacious zeal the tombs and temples of St. Peter and St. Paul. Their diviſions ſaved the capital from the yoke of the prophet of Mecca. In the preſſing emergency of affairs, the vacant apoſtolical chair was filled by Leo the Fourth; and the unanimous choice of that pontiff was the ſafety of the church and

and city. The ancient walls were repaired by the command of Leo; fifteen towers were erected in the moſt acceſſible ſtations; and a chain was drawn acroſs the ſtream of the Tyber to impede the aſcent of a hoſtile navy.

Theſe precautions were ſoon found neceſſary. A fleet of Arabs and Moors caſt anchor before the mouth of the Tyber: and their diſcipline and numbers threatened a ſerious deſign of conqueſt and dominion; but Leo had negociated an alliance with the free and maritime ſtates of Gayeta, Naples, and Amalfi; in the hour of danger, their gallies appeared in the port of Oſtia, under the command of Cæſarius, the ſon of a Neapolitan duke, a valiant youth who had already vanquiſhed the Saracens. [A. D. 849.] The Moſlems advanced to the attack; but the Chriſtians had obtained the advantage, when a ſudden tempeſt confounded the ſkill, and completed the deſtruction of their African adverſaries. The Italians were ſheltered in a friendly harbour; but the Saracens, who eſcaped the ſtorm, fell into the hands of their implacable purſuers; the ſword and the gibbet reduced the dangerous multitude of captives; and the remainder was uſefully employed to reſtore the ſacred edifices which they had attempted to ſubvert. The reign of Leo the Fourth was dedicated to the defence and ornament of the Roman ſtate. The nations of the Weſt and North, who viſited the threſhold of the apoſtles, had gradually formed the large and populous ſuburb of the vatican; to encompaſs this holy ſpot with walls and towers was the labour of the pontiff; and four years were

were consumed in the work by the indefatigable Leo. [A. D. 852.] On the completion of it, with a pardonable vanity, he bestowed on the vatican the new name of the *Leonine* city.

The emperor Theophilus, son of Michael the Stammerer, was one of the most active princes who reigned at Constantinople during the middle age. Five times he marched against the Saracens in person; in his last expedition he destroyed Sozopetra, in Syria, the birth-place of the caliph Motassem. [A. D. 838.] The commander of the faithful was provoked by the insult. The troops of Irak, Syria, and Egypt, were recruited from the tribes of Arabian and the Turkish hords. The caliph in person commanded the formidable army; and his vengeance fell on Amorium, in Phrygia, the native city of the father of Theophilus; the emperor embraced the generous resolution of defending in a battle the country of his ancestors; he was compelled to fly before the fury of the invaders; and his army was only saved from a total defeat by the valour of his Persian auxiliaries. Amorium was levelled with the ground; and the caliph, tired with destruction, returned to the neighbourhood of Bagdad.

With Motassem, the eighth of the Abbassides, the glory of his family and nation expired. The mercenary forces of Motassem had been recruited in the climates of the North; and fifty thousand Turks were introduced into the capital. Motassem himself had beheld with concern their licentious inclinations; but the life and the throne of his son, Motawakkel, were terminated and subverted by their treacherous fury.

In

In four years three commanders of the faithful were ſacrificed to the avarice and rage of theſe foreign mercenaries. At length the tempeſt was diverted; the inſolence of the Turks was curbed by a firm and ſkilful hand; and their numbers were divided and deſtroyed in foreign warfare; but their example firſt taught the nations of the Eaſt to trample on the ſucceſſors of the prophet.

In the two hundred and ſeventy-ſeventh year of the hegira, in the neighbourhood of Cufa, an Arabian preacher, of the name of Carmeth, aſſumed the ſtyle of a prophet, and converted the ruſtic crowd; [A. D. 890.] his myſtic volume refined the precepts of the koran to a more ſpiritual ſenſe; he relaxed the duties of ablution, faſting, and pilgrimage, and nouriſhed the fervour of his diſciples by the daily repetition of fifty prayers. After the death of Carmeth, his twelve apoſtles diſperſed themſelves among the Bedoweens; theſe profeſſed the faith of Carmeth, and vowed a blind ſubmiſſion to their imam. The mercenaries of the caliph were diſmayed by the reſolute zeal of the Carmathians, and of their leaders Abu Said, and his ſon Abu Taher. The cities of Racca and Baalbec, of Cufa and Baſſora, were taken and pillaged. [A. D. 929.] Mecca itſelf was ſtormed in a feſtival of devotion, and Abu Taher trampled on the moſt venerable relics of the Mahometan faith. It is needleſs to inquire by what means the Carmathians were finally extirpated; it is ſufficient to obſerve, their ſect may be conſidered as the ſecond viſible cauſe of the decline and fall of the empire of the caliphs.

The

The third and moſt obvious cauſe was the weight and magnitude of the empire itſelf. In the long and hereditary exerciſe of power, the lieutenants of the caliphs aſſumed the pride and attributes of royalty. [A. D. 800—941.] In Africa, the *Aglabites* and *Edriſites* erected their independent thrones. [A. D. 813—872. In the Eaſt, the firſt dynaſty was that of the *Taherites*, the poſterity of the valiant Taher, who reigned over the province of Choraſan. Theſe were ſupplanted by an adventurer, who left his trade of a brazier (from whence the name of *Soffarides*) for the profeſſion of a robber. [A. D. 872—902.] He ſubdued Perſia, and threatened Bagdad; but after his death, the throne of his ſucceſſor was overturned by the powerful dynaſty of *Samanides* [A. D. 874—999.] who, at the invitation of the Abbaſſides, paſſed the Oxus, vanquiſhed the Soffarian armies, and content with Tranſoxiana and Choraſan, ſuffered the realms of Perſia to return for a while to the allegiance of the caliphs. The provinces of Syria and Egypt were twice diſmembered by the Turkiſh ſlaves of the race of *Toulon* and *Ikſhid*; [A. D. 868—968.] and the potent dynaſties of the *Toulonides* and the *Ikſhidites* were for a ſhort period famous and formidable; yet both Egypt and Syria were recovered, and poſſeſſed by the Abbaſſides during an interval of thirty years. In the decline of the empire, Meſopotamia, with the cities of Moſul and Aleppo, was occupied by the princes of *Hamadan*. [A. D. 892—1001.] The language and genius of Perſia was reſtored by three brothers, who eſtabliſhed the dynaſty of the *Bowides*;

[A. D. 933—1055.] and from the Caſpian Sea to the Ocean, would ſuffer no tyrants but themſelves. With Radhi, the twentieth of the Abbaſſides, expired the wealth and magnificence of the ancient caliphs: [A. D. 936.] his ſucceſſors were reduced to abject miſery; their dominions were confined within the walls of Bagdad; deſpoiled of the ſceptre, they ſtill claimed the koran; but their temporal and ſpiritual authority was at length extinguiſhed by their ſucceſsful rivals, the Fatimites, who vigorouſly aroſe from the extremity of Africa; and extending themſelves over Egypt and Syria, the monarch of the Nile inſulted the humble pontiff on the banks of the Tigris.

In the declining age of the caliphs, when the Eaſtern world was convulſed and broken, the Greeks were rouſed from their lethargy by the hopes of conqueſt and revenge. Nicephorus Phocas, in the ſubordinate ſtation of general of the Eaſt, reduced the iſland of Crete, and extirpated the neſt of pirates which had ſo long defied the Majeſty of the empire. [A. D. 960.] After the death of Romanus, his widow Theophania, ſucceſſively married Nicephorus Phocas, and his aſſaſſin, John Zimiſces, the two heroes of the age. The two emperors proſecuted their conqueſt from the hills of Cappadocia to the deſert of Bagdad. The ſieges of Mopſueſtia and Tarſus firſt exerciſed the valour and perſeverance of their troops; the former was taken by aſſault, the latter reduced by famine. After ſecuring the narrow paſſes of Mount Amanus, the two Roman princes repeatedly carried their arms into the heart of Syria; and Antioch, in the depth of winter,

in

in a dark rainy night, was ſurpriſed by an adventurous ſubaltern with three hundred ſoldiers, who ſcaled the walls, and opened the gates to an army ſtationed in the neighbourhood. Aleppo was betrayed by the diſſentions of its citizens and garriſon. Hierapolis, Apamea, and Ameſa ſubmitted; and the emperor Zimiſces encamped in the delicious territory of Damaſcus. At the head of a victorious army he croſſed the Euphrates, below the paſſage of Mount Taurus; overran the once famous cities of Edeſſa, Martyropolis, Amida, and Niſibis; and advanced with ardour to ſeize the virgin treaſures of Bagdad: but theſe had already been diſſipated by the prodigality of domeſtic tyrants; and the apprehenſions of Bagdad were relieved by the retreat of the Greeks. Thirſt and hunger guarded the deſert of Meſopotamia; and the emperor, ſatiated with glory, returned to Conſtantinople. By his invaſion, the powers of the Eaſt had been bent, not broken; after the departure of the Greeks, the fugitive princes returned to their capitals; their ſubjects diſclaimed their involuntary oaths of obedience; and of theſe conqueſts, Antioch, with the cities of Cilicia, and the iſle of Cyprus, became the only permanent acceſſions to the Roman empire.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

STATE OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE IN THE TENTH CENTURY —THE GREEKS, THE ARABS, AND THE FRANKS—ORIGIN AND DOCTRINE OF THE PAULICIANS—THE BULGARIANS —THE HUNGARIANS—THE RUSSIANS—CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS.

In the tenth century, the provinces which ſtill acknowledged the authority of the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine, had been caſt into a new mould by the inſtitution of the *themes*, or military governments; but of theſe twenty-nine themes, twelve in Europe, and ſeventeen in Aſia, the origin is obſcure, and the limits were fluctuating. The victories of Nicephorus, John Zimiſces, and Baſil the Second, enlarged the boundaries of the Roman name; but in the eleventh century, the proſpect was clouded by new enemies and new misfortunes; the relics of Italy were ſwept away by the Norman adventurers, and almoſt all the Aſiatic branches were diſſevered from the Roman trunk by the Turkiſh conquerors. After theſe loſſes, the emperors of the Comnenian family continued to reign from the Danube to the Peloponneſus, and from Belgrade to Nice, Trebizond, and the winding ſtream of the Meander. The ſpacious provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, were obedient to their ſceptre; the poſſeſſion of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete, was accompanied by the fifty iſlands of the Ægean, or Holy Sea; and the remnant

remnant of their empire tranſcends the meaſure of the largeſt of the European kingdoms.

The ſame princes might aſſert with dignity and truth, that of all the monarchs of Chriſtendom, they poſſeſſed the greateſt city, the moſt ample revenue, and the moſt flouriſhing and populous ſtate. A Jewiſh traveller, who viſited Conſtantinople in the twelfth century, declared that capital paid each day to her ſovereign twenty thouſand pieces of gold. Michael the Third inherited one hundred and nine thouſand pounds of gold, and three thouſand of ſilver, the fruits of the œconomy of his mother Theodora, and her deceaſed huſband. The victorious armies of Baſil the Second were paid and rewarded, without breaking into the maſs of two hundred thouſand pounds of gold (about eight millions ſterling) which he had buried in the ſubterraneous vaults of the palace. The ſubjects of the Byzantine empire were ſtill the moſt dextrous of nations; their country was bleſſed by nature with every advantage of ſoil, climate and ſituation; and in the ſupport and reſtoration of the arts, their patient and peaceful temper was more uſeful than the warlike ſpirit and feudal anarchy of Europe.

The firſt demand on the public revenue was for the pomp and pleaſure of the emperor. The coaſts and iſlands of Aſia and Europe were covered with the magnificent villas of the princes of Conſtantinople; the great palace, the centre of imperial reſidence, was decorated and enlarged by the wealth and emulation of ſucceſſive ſovereigns; and the long ſeries of apartments was adorned with a profuſion of gold, ſilver, and pre-

cious ſtones. The dignity of the imperial throne was maintained by a ſolemn and ſtudied ſilence; and all who entered the royal preſence, fell proſtrate on the ground, and kiſſed the feet of the emperor.

A perpetual interdict, ratified by the fabulous ſanction of the great Conſtantine, and inſcribed on the altar of St. Sophia, precluded the marriage of the Cæſars with foreign nations. The alliance of Copronymus with the daughter of the king of the Chozars, was cenſured in a ſubſequent reign; Romanus, whoſe grand-daughter had married a Bulgarian prince, was conſidered as a plebeian uſurper; but the nuptials of Romanus the Second, with Bertha of France or Italy, was juſtified by his Father, Porphyrogenitus; and the Franks were honourably excepted from the general prohibition. The union was diſſolved by the death of the virgin ſpouſe; the ſecond wife of Romanus was of plebeian, but of Roman, birth. Of their two daughters, Theophano and Anne, the eldeſt was beſtowed on the ſon of the great Otho; Theophano governed, after the death of her father-in-law, and huſband, during the minority of her ſon, Rome, Italy, and Germany, with the approbation of her ſubjects; Anne, the youngeſt daughter, became the wife of Wolodomir, great prince of Ruſſia; the Grecian princeſs was ſacrificed to the aſſiſtance of a pagan of the North; yet her marriage proved fortunate and fruitful; and the king of France, Henry I. fought a wife of imperial deſcent on the borders of Europe and Chriſtendom, and obtained the daughter of her grandſon Jeroſlaus.

The three great empires which, from the age of Charlemagne

Charlemagne to that of the cruſades, diſputed the world, were the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks. The wealth of the Greeks enabled them to purchaſe the ſervice of the poorer nations; and to maintain a naval power for the protection of their coaſts, and the annoyance of their enemies. Their invention of liquid fire was employed in ſieges and ſea-fights with terrible effects; but in the deciſion of battles, ſteel and iron were ſtill the common inſtruments of deſtruction; their armour on a march was laid aſide in light chariots, and reluctantly reſumed on the approach of an enemy; their offenſive weapons conſiſted of ſwords, battle-axes, and ſpears; but the Macedonian pike was ſhortened a fourth of its length, and reduced to twelve cubits. Yet though the wealth and care of the Roman emperors could liberally ſupply the arms of the ſoldier, it was impoſſible to renew his debilitated mind; the Greeks were ſunk in their own eſteem, and that of their neighbours; and a cold hand and loquacious tongue was the general deſcription of the nation.

The Moſlems, under the laſt caliphs, had undoubtedly degenerated from the high-ſpirited enthuſiaſm of the firſt companions of the prophet; but the latent ſpark of fanaticiſm ſtill glowed in the heart of their religion; the poor were allured by the hopes of plunder; the rich were ambitious of death or victory in the cauſe of God. Their offenſive and defenſive arms were ſimilar in ſtrength and temper to thoſe of the Romans, whom they far excelled in the management of the horſe and the bow. In their engagements they ſuſtained with patient firmneſs the firſt attack, and ſeldom

advanced to the charge till they could diſcern and oppreſs the laſſitude of their foes. But if they were repulſed, they knew not how to renew the combat: and their diſmay was heightened by the ſuperſtitious prejudices that God had declared himſelf on the ſide of their enemies.

The Franks, after the death of Charlemagne, had been ſeparated into many hoſtile and independent ſtates; the regal title was aſſumed by the moſt ambitious chiefs; and their private wars, which overturned the fabric of government, fomented the martial ſpirit of the nation. In the diſorders of the tenth and eleventh centuries, every peaſant was a ſoldier, and every village a fortification. Their love of freedom and of arms was felt, with conſcious pride, by the Franks themſelves, and was obſerved by the Greeks with terror and amazement. Retreat was conſidered as flight, and flight as indelible infamy. In the age which preceded the inſtitution of knighthood, the Franks were rude and unſkilful in the ſervice of cavalry, and unpractiſed in the uſe of pikes, or miſſile weapons; they marched to battle, encumbered by the length of their ſwords, the weight of their armour, and the magnitude of their ſhields; their independent ſpirit diſdained the yoke of ſubordination, and abandoned the ſtandard of their chief, if he attempted to keep the field beyond the term of their ſtipulation or ſervice.

From the reign of Juſtinian may be dated the gradual oblivion of the Latin tongue. That legiſlator had compoſed his inſtitutes in a language which he celebrates as the proper ſtyle of the Roman government.—

But

But this foreign dialect was unknown to the people and ſoldiers of the Aſiatic provinces; and was but imperfectly underſtood by the greater part of the interpreters of the laws, and the miniſters of the ſtate. The ſeveral parts of his juriſprudence were ſucceſſively tranſlated, and the verſion obtained a legal as well as popular eſtabliſhment in the Byzantine monarchy.—The birth and reſidence of ſucceeding princes eſtranged them from the Roman idiom. Tiberius by the Arabs, and Maurice by the Italians, are diſtinguiſhed as the firſt of the Greek Cæſars, and the founders of a new empire; and the ruins of the Latin ſpeech were darkly preſerved in the terms of juriſprudence, and the acclamations of the palace. Yet the appellation of Greeks was rejected by the prince and people to whom it was applied; and long after they had renounced the dreſs and idiom, the name of ROMANS adhered to the laſt fragments of the empire of Conſtantinople.

The Greeks of Conſtantinople, after purging away the impurities of their vulgar ſpeech, acquired the free uſe of their ancient language, and a familiar knowledge of the ſublime maſters who had pleaſed or inſtructed the firſt of nations; but theſe advantages only tend to aggravate the reproach and ſhame of a degenerate people. They read, they praiſed, they compiled; but their languid ſoul ſeemed alike incapable of thought and action. In the revolution of ten centuries, not a ſingle diſcovery was made to exalt the dignity, or promote the happineſs of mankind: but the minds of the Greeks were bound in the fetters of a baſe and imperious

rious ſuperſtition; their underſtandings were bewildered in metaphyſical controverſy; and their taſte was vitiated by the homilies of the monks, an abſurd medley of declamation and ſcripture.

The reſtoration of images in the Eaſtern world was celebrated as the feaſt of orthodoxy; the Pagans had diſappeared; the Jews were ſilent and obſcure; and perſecution muſt have ſlept, had not a branch of Manichæans, about the middle of the ſeventh century, been ſelected as the victims of ſpiritual tyranny. Their patience was at length exaſperated to deſpair and rebellion; and the exile of the PAULICIANS has ſcattered over the Weſt the ſeeds of reformation.

Conſtantine, the author of the new ſect, reſided in the neighbourhood of Samoſata, and had received from a deacon the ineſtimable gift of the New Teſtament, which was already concealed from the vulgar by the Greek clergy. Theſe books became the meaſure of his ſtudies, and the rule of his faith; but he peculiarly devoted himſelf to the writings and character of St. Paul; the diſciples of that apoſtle were repreſented by Conſtantine and his fellow-laborers. They rejected with contempt the Old Teſtament; diſclaimed the viſions which had been publiſhed by the Oriental ſects; and condemned the opinions of the Manichæan ſect, who preſumed to reconcile the doctrines of Chriſt and Zoroaſter. The Paulicians were inclined to aboliſh all viſible objects of worſhip; their truſt and belief was in the Father, of Chriſt, of the human ſoul, and of the inviſible world; but they likewiſe held the eternity of an

an active being who created this visible world, and exercises his temporal reign till the final consummation of death and sin.

The disciples of Constantine were soon multiplied, and he preached with success in the regions of Pontus and Cappadocia; the new sect was loosely spread over the provinces of Asia Minor to the westward of the Euphrates; but Constantine himself, after a mission of twenty-seven years, fell a sacrifice to Roman persecution; the numbers, who in two centuries imbibed his doctrines, may be estimated by the assertion, that one hundred thousand Paulicians perished by the orthodox zeal of the widow of Theophilus. From their blood and ashes, a succession of teachers and congregations repeatedly arose; and the empire was fatally instructed, that the most furious and desperate of rebels are the sectaries of a religion long persecuted, and at length provoked. Carbeas, a valiant Paulician, with five thousand of his brethren, renounced the allegiance of anti-christian Rome; negociated an alliance with the caliph; seized the city of Tephrice, in the mountains between Sirvas and Trebizond; and pillaged the provinces of Asia Minor. After the death of Carbeas, Tephrice was reduced by the arms of Basil the Macedonian; but the spirit of independence survived in the mountains; and the Paulicians still infested the Roman limits. By the kindred heresy of Copronymus, they were transplanted from the banks of the Euphrates into Constantinople and Thrace; by John Zimisces they were established in the vallies of Mount Hæmus, and opposed to the Barbarians of Scythia; and in the beginning

ginning of the thirteenth century, their pope reſided on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and governed by his vicars the filial congregations of Italy and France. The modern Paulicians are ſubject to the Turkiſh government; but they have loſt all memory of their origin; and their religion is diſgraced by the worſhip of the croſs, and the practice of bloody ſacrifice.

Under the Byzantine ſtandard, the Paulicians were often tranſported to the Greek provinces of Italy and Sicily; and their opinions were ſilently propagated in Rome, Milan, and the kingdoms beyond the Alps; but it was in the county of the Albigeois, in the ſouthern part of France, that they were moſt deeply implanted. Pope Innocent III. with the diligence of the inquiſition, extirpated, by fire and ſword, the viſible aſſemblies of the Paulicians or Albigeois; but the invincible ſpirit which they had kindled, ſtill lived and breathed in the Weſtern world. In the ſtate, in the church, and even in the cloiſter, a latent ſucceſſion was preſerved of the diſciples of St. Paul; who proteſted againſt the tyranny of Rome, embraced the bible as the rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the viſions of the Oriental ſects. The ſtruggles of Wickliffe in England, of Huſs in Bohemia, were premature and ineffectual; but the names of Zuinglius, Luther, and Calvin, are pronounced with gratitude as the deliverers of nations.

The BULGARIANS, who in a great meaſure adopted the religious tenets of the Paulicians, had been trampled on by Theodoric the Oſtrogoth, in his march to Italy. After a century and a half, they were revived by freſh colonies

colonies from the Tanais or the Volga. The moſt adventurous wandered in queſt of fortune, and found protection in the heart of Italy, under the exarch of Ravenna; [A. D. 680.] but the great ſtream of emigration was directed towards the capital; and the conquerors ſucceſſively acquired the Roman provinces of Dardania, Theſſaly, and the two Epirus. The evidence of language atteſts the deſcent of the Bulgarians from the original ſtock of the Sclavonian race. The kindred bands of Servians, Boſnians, Raſcians, Croatians, Walachians, &c. followed either the ſtandard or the example of the leading tribe. From the Euxine to the Adriatic, in the ſtate of captives, or ſubjects, or allies, or enemies of the Greek empire, they overſpread the land. Among theſe the Chrobatians, or Croats, who now attend the motions of an Auſtrian army, were the conquerors and ſovereign of Dalmatia; a long ſea-coaſt, indented with capacious harbours, diſpoſed them to the practice of navigation; their enterpriſes were frequent and rapacious; and it was not till the cloſe of the tenth century, that the freedom of the gulph was effectually vindicated from the Sclavonian pirates, by the republic of Venice.

The glory of the Bulgarians was confined to a narrow ſcope of time and place. In the ninth and tenth centuries they reigned to the ſouth of the Danube.—The Roman emperor Nicephorus had boldly advanced into the centre of their territory; [A. D. 811.] his camp was ſurpriſed by the Bulgarians; Nicephorus was ſlain; and his ſkull, enchaſed with gold, was often repleniſhed in the feaſts of victory. Before the end of the

the ſame century, a peaceful intercourſe with the Greeks, and the introduction of the Chriſtian religion, ſoftened the manners of the Barbarians; yet under Simeon, a youth of the royal line, who relinquiſhed the profeſſion of a monk for that of a king and a warrior, they beſieged Romanus I. in his capital; their retreat was purchaſed by a domeſtic alliance, and the freedom of trade; after the death of Simeon, his feeble ſucceſſors were divided and extinguiſhed: and in the eleventh century, Baſil II. accompliſhed the final deſtruction of the kingdom of Bulgaria.

The Oriental denomination of the HUNGARIANS is *Magiar;* but they are diſtinguiſhed by the Greeks under the proper name of *Turks*, as the deſcendants of that mighty people who had conquered and reigned from China to the Volga. From their primitive country, in the heart of Tartary, they were driven to the Weſt by the tide of war and emigration, and by the weight of the more diſtant tribes, who at the ſame time were conquerors and fugitives. Reaſon or fortune directed their courſe towards the frontiers of the Roman empire; and in their march they were reinforced by ſeveral tribes of the Chozars, who introduced a ſecond language, and obtained by their ſuperior renown the moſt honourable place in the front of battle. The public counſels of the emigrants were directed by ſeven *vayvods*, or hereditary chiefs, but the experience of diſcord recommended the vigorous adminiſtration of a ſingle perſon; the ſceptre was granted to the merit of Almus and his ſon Arpad; and the authority of the ſupreme khan of the Chozars confirmed the engagement of

of the prince and people; of the people to obey his commands, of the prince to conſult their happineſs and glory.

It was the obſervation of Leo the Sixth, that of the Scythian hords, the Bulgarians and Hungarians were ſuperior to their brethren, and ſimilar to each other in their diſcipline and government. The tents of the Hungarians were of leather; their garments of fur; they ſhaved their hair, and ſcarified their faces; in ſpeech they were ſlow, in action prompt, in treaty perfidious; whatever they ſaw, they coveted; their deſires were inſatiate, and their ſole induſtry was the hand of violence and rapine. For their ſubſiſtence they principally depended on fiſhing and the chace; and in their expeditions, they were accompanied by large flocks and herds, which afforded a conſtant and wholeſome ſupply of milk and animal food. After ſome experience of the Roman tactics, they adopted the uſe of the ſword and ſpear, the helmet of the ſoldier, and the iron breaſt-plate of his ſteed. But their native and deadly weapon was the Tartar bow; their arm was ſtrong; their aim was ſure; in open combat, in ſecret ambuſh, in flight or purſuit, they were equally formidable; in the abuſe of victory, they aſtoniſhed Europe; mercy they rarely aſked, and more rarely beſtowed; and the appetite of both ſexes for raw fleſh might countenance the popular tale, that they drank the blood, and feaſted on the hearts of the ſlain.

The firſt conqueſts and final ſettlements of the Hungarians extended on either ſide of the Danube above Vienna, below Belgrade, and beyond the meaſure of the Roman province of Pannonia, or the modern

dern kingdom of Hungary. [A. D. 900.] In the battle of Augſburgh, the Chriſtians were vanquiſhed by the flying ſtratagems of the Turks; in a ſingle day their Scythian ſpeed ſtript a circuit of fifty miles. Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia, were conſumed by the rapid victors; the ſouthern provinces of France were blaſted by their preſence; and Spain, behind her Pyrenees, was aſtoniſhed at the approach of theſe formidable ſtrangers. Italy had tempted their early inroads; in a battle near the Brenta, the lives of twenty thouſand Chriſtians were forfeited by the raſhneſs of their king, who had refuſed the Barbarians permiſſion to retire; Pavia was condemned to the flames; [A. D. 924.] and their daring incurſions were directed, at the ſame time, towards the gates of Rome and Conſtantinople.

The deliverance of Germany was atchieved by the Saxon princes, Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great. The valiant Henry was rouſed from a bed of ſickneſs by the invaſion of his country; but his mind was vigorous, and his prudence ſucceſsful; he fought and conquered. [A. D. 934.] At the end of twenty years, the empire of his ſon was again invaded by the Turks, who were invited by a domeſtic faction. Their numbers have been eſtimated at one hundred thouſand horſe; but the policy of Otho had diſpelled the conſpiracy; [A. D. 955.] and his valour vanquiſhed and broke for ever the power of the Hungarians. The ſpirit of the nation was humbled, and the moſt acceſſible paſſes of Hungary were fortified with a ditch and rampart. Adverſity ſuggeſted the counſels of moderation and peace; and the robbers of the Weſt acquieſced

quieſced in a ſedentary life, and employed themſelves in the arts of cultivation. The houſe of Arpad reigned three hundred years in Hungary; but the free-born Barbarians were not dazzled by the luſtre of a diadem, and the people aſſerted their indefeaſible right of chuſing, depoſing, and puniſhing the hereditary ſervant of the ſtate.

The name of the RUSSIANS in the ninth century was firſt divulged by an embaſſy from Theophilus, emperor of the Eaſt, to the emperor of the Weſt, Lewis, the ſon of Charlemagne. The Greeks were accompanied by the envoys of the *Czar* of the Ruſſians. [A. D. 839.] Theſe requeſted the French monarch to convey them home by ſea; and by a cloſer examination, they were diſcovered to be the brethren of the Swedes and Normans, already odious to the French. The Normans impatient of a bleak climate and narrow limits, had explored every coaſt that promiſed ſpoil or ſettlement; they viſited the eaſtern ſhores of the Baltic; and the Ruſſians of the lake Ladoga paid a tribute, the ſkins of white ſquirrels, to theſe ſtrangers, whom they ſaluted with the title of *Varangians*, or corſairs. By choice or conqueſt, the Varangians gradually obtained the dominion of a people whom they were qualified to protect; and Ruric, a Scandinavian chief, became the father of a dynaſty, which reigned above ſeven hundred years. His brothers extended his influence; his uſurpation was imitated by his companions; and their eſtabliſhments were at length cemented into the fabric of a powerful monarchy.

As ſoon as the deſcendants of Ruric had ſtruck per-

manent root in the ſoil, they beheld with jealouſy the annual introduction of the Varangians; and Waladimir firſt adviſed theſe foreign mercenaries to ſeek a more wealthy maſter in Greece; the counſel was accepted; the Varangians were entertained by the Byzantine monarch; his perſon was entruſted to their guard; and theſe ſtrangers preſerved, till the laſt age of the empire, the inheritance of ſpotleſs loyalty, and the uſe of their native tongue.

A. D. 950.] The ſons of Ruric were maſters of the province of Moſcow; and if they were confined on that ſide by the eaſtern hords, their weſtern frontier in thoſe early days was enlarged to the Baltic Sea and the country of the Pruſſians. The two capitals, Novogorod and Kiow, are coeval with the firſt age of the monarchy; but in their origin, they were no more than camps or fairs, the moſt convenient ſtations in which the Barbarians might aſſemble for the occaſional buſineſs of war or trade. Between the ſea and Novogorod, an eaſy intercourſe was diſcovered; in the ſummer through a gulf, a lake, and a navigable river; in the winter ſeaſon, over the hard and level ſurface of boundleſs ſnows. From the neighbourhood of that city, the Ruſſians deſcended the ſtreams that fall into the Boryſthenes, and the produce of the North was collected and diſcharged in the magazines of Kiow. At the mouth of the Boryſthenes they repaired their ſhattered veſſels for the longer and more perilous voyage of the Black Sea. If they ſteered along the coaſt, the Danube was acceſſible; with a fair wind they could reach in forty hours the oppoſite ſhores of Anatolia;

and Conſtantinople admitted the annual viſits of the ſtrangers of the North.

But the communication which had been opened for the benefit, was ſoon abuſed for the injury, of mankind. The Ruſſians had ſeen and taſted the luxury of the city of the Cæſars; the marvellous tale excited the deſires of their ſavage countrymen; the Varangian princes unfurled the banners of piratical adventure; and the Euxine was again infeſted with the calamities of a predatory war. [A. D. 865—1043.] In leſs than two centuries, Conſtantinople was four times attempted by their ſquadrons; and the Greeks were only protected by the ſeaſonable interpoſition of tempeſts, or the formidable effects of their liquid fire.

A. D. 955.] By land, the arms of Swatoſlaus, the third in deſcent from Ruric, ſubdued the nations from the Volga to the Danube. The exerciſe of war gave ſtability to his army; and he was bribed by Nicephorus Phocas to undertake the conqueſt of Bulgaria. With an army of ſixty thouſand men, he effected his landing on the Mæſian ſhore; the Bulgarians were defeated; and the country ravaged as far as Mount Hæmus; but inſtead of relinquiſhing his prey, and performing his engagements, the Varangian prince reinforced his army with the bands of the Chozars and Turks, inveſted the perfidious ambaſſador of Nicephorus with the purple, and from the banks of the Danube purſued his march as far as Adrianople.

Nicephorus Phocas was no more; but his throne and wife were inherited by John Zimiſces, who, in a

diminutive body, poſſeſſed the ſpirit and abilities of an hero. The Ruſſians had already been chaſtiſed by the arms of his lieutenants; but ſeventy thouſand Barbarians were ſtill in arms; and the emperor himſelf, in the enſuing ſpring, prepared to march againſt them; he recalled the legions from Syria, ſecured the paſſes of mount Hæmus, reduced Marcianapolis, and encompaſſed and aſſaulted Swatoſlaus, in the ſtrong poſt of Driſtra, on the banks of the Danube. [A. D. 973.] After a ſiege of ſixty-five days, the Ruſſian prince was compelled to yield to his adverſe fortune; after binding himſelf by ſolemn imprecations to relinquiſh all hoſtile deſigns, he was diſmiſſed by the liberal policy of the victor; but after he had reached the mouth of the Boryſthenes on his return, Swatoſlaus was ſurpriſed and oppreſſed by the neighbouring tribes, with whom the Greeks entertained a perpetual and uſeful correſpondence.

Olga, the widow of Igor, had revenged the death, and aſſumed the ſceptre, of her huſband. In a moment of foreign and domeſtic peace, ſhe ſailed for Conſtantinople, and in the ſacrament of baptiſm received the venerable name of the empreſs Helena; [A. D. 955.] but on her return, her labours in the propagation of the goſpel were not attended with the deſirable effect. Her ſon Swatoſlaus apprehended the ridicule of his companions; and her grandſon Wolodomir devoted his zeal to decorate the monuments of ancient worſhip. Yet the example of Olga made a deep though ſecret impreſſion on the minds of the prince and people: and the converſion of Wolodomir

was

was haſtened by his deſire of a Roman bride. [A. D. 988.] At the ſame time, and in the city of Cherſon, the rites of baptiſm and marriage were celebrated by the Chriſtian pontiffs: Wolodomir eſpouſed the ſiſter of the emperor Baſil, and his edict proclaimed, that all who ſhould refuſe the baptiſmal fount, would be treated as the enemies of God and their prince; the rivers were inſtantly filled with many thouſands of obedient ſubjects; and the Ruſſians acquieſced in the truth and excellence of a doctrine which had been embraced by the great duke and his boyars.

In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries of the Chriſtian æra, the reign of the goſpel and the church was extended over Bulgaria, Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Ruſſia. The firſt converſions were free and ſpontaneous; but the warlike nations, who were ſaluted with the titles of kings and ſaints, have held it lawful and pious to impoſe the catholic faith on their ſubjects and neighbours. The coaſt of the Baltic, from Holſtein to Finland, was invaded under the ſtandard of the croſs; and the reign of idolatry was cloſed by the converſion of Lithuania in the fourteenth century. The converſion of the North imparted many temporal benefits both to the old and new Chriſtians. Europe was delivered from the depredations of the Normans, the Hungarians, and the Ruſſians; the eſtabliſhment of law and order was promoted by the influence of the clergy; and the rudiments of arts and ſcience were introduced into the ſavage countries of the globe.

CHAPTER XL.

THE SARACENS, FRANKS, AND GREEKS, IN ITALY—FIRST ADVENTURES AND SETTLEMENT OF THE NORMANS—CHARACTER AND CONQUESTS OF ROBERT GUISCARD, DUKE OF APULIA—DELIVERANCE OF SICILY BY HIS BROTHER ROGER—VICTORIES OF ROBERT OVER THE EMPERORS OF THE EAST AND WEST—ROGER, KING OF SICILY, INVADES AFRICA AND GREECE—THE EMPEROR MANUEL COMNENUS—WARS OF THE GREEKS AND NORMANS—EXTINCTION OF THE NORMANS.

ON the theatre of Italy, the three great nations of the world, the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks, encountered each other. The ſouthern provinces were ſubject, for the moſt part, to the Lombard dukes and princes of Beneventum. The rival chiefs of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua, inflamed by ambitious competition, invited the Saracens to the ruin of their common inheritance. For two hundred years the frequent and annual ſquadrons of the faithful iſſued from the port of Palermo; their more formidable fleets were prepared on the African coaſt; and the Arabs of Andaluſia were ſometimes tempted to aſſiſt, or oppoſe, the Moſlems, of an adverſe ſect. Their impartial depredations from Bari, which commands the Adriatic Gulf, provoked and united the two emperors, Baſil the Macedonian, and Lewis, the great grandſon of Charlemagne. The fortreſs of Bari was inveſted by the infantry of the Franks;

Franks; the gallies and cavalry of the Greeks; and, after a defence of four years, the Arabian emir ſubmitted to Lewis, who commanded, in perſon, the operations of the ſiege. [A. D. 871.] This important conqueſt had been atchieved by the concord of the Eaſt and Weſt; but their recent amity was ſoon embittered by the mutual complaints of jealouſy and pride; and their viſionary enterpriſes were finally extinguiſhed by the death of Lewis, and the decay of the Carlovingian houſe.

Bari ſubmitted to the authority of Baſil, and his ſon Leo; the Italians of Apulia and Calabria were perſuaded to acknowledge their ſupremacy; Amalfi and Naples had conſtantly retained their allegiance to the Byzantine court; but the Lombard princes of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua, were reluctantly torn from the communion of the Latin world, and too often violated their oaths of ſervitude and tribute. As long as the ſceptre was diſputed by the princes of Italy, the Greeks reſiſted or eluded the forces of Germany. The firſt and greateſt of the Saxon princes was compelled to relinquiſh the ſiege of Bari; [A. D. 983.] the ſecond, Otho the Third, was defeated, and eſcaped with difficulty from the field of Crotona; but the rapid ſucceſs of the Norman adventurers diſpelled the flattering illuſions of the ſucceſſors of Baſil, who amuſed themſelves with the belief, that they had atchieved the conqueſt of Lombardy.

The eſtabliſhment of the Normans in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, is an event the moſt important in its conſequences both to Italy and the Eaſtern empire.

The broken provinces of the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens, had been invaded on every side by the adventurous spirit of the Scandinavian pirates. The Normans, after a long indulgence of rapine and slaughter, accepted an ample territory in Flanders; they embraced the Christian faith; and their dukes professed themselves the vassals of the successors of Charlemagne and Capet. They imbibed the manners, language, and gallantry of the French nation; their pilgrimages to Rome, Italy, and the Holy Land, were frequent and zealous; they confederated for their mutual defence; and the robbers of the Alps, who had been allured by the garb of the pilgrim, were often chastised by the arm of a warrior. In a devout visit to a cavern of Mount Garganus in Apulia, which had been sanctified by the apparition of the archangel Michael, they were accosted by a stranger, who soon revealed himself as a rebel, a fugitive, and a mortal foe to the Greek empire. His name was Melo, a noble citizen of Bari, who after an unsuccessful revolt, was compelled to seek new allies and avengers of his country. The Normans listened to his complaints and promises; described, on their return, the prospect of plunder; and a small band was freely associated for the deliverance of Apulia. They passed the Alps in the disguise of pilgrims; but they were overwhelmed by the numbers of the Greeks; the unfortunate Melo ended his life, a suppliant in Germany; and his Norman followers wandered among the hills and vallies of Italy, and earned their daily subsistence by the sword. The princes of Capua, Benevento, Salerno, and Naples, alternately

alternately engaged their support. Their superior valour and discipline gave victory to the cause they espoused; and the liberality of the duke of Naples, eight miles from his residence, as a bulwark against Capua, built and fortified for their use the town of Aversa. [A. D. 1029.] The report of their success attracted every year new swarms of pilgrims and soldiers; the independent standard of Aversa afforded shelter and encouragement to every fugitive who had escaped from the justice or injustice of his superiors; and the acknowledged merit of count Rainulf raised him to be first leader of the Normans.

The Grecian emperors had been anxious to regain from the Arabs the possession of Sicily, but their efforts had been continually baffled; the internal divisions of the Saracens renewed their hopes; the emir disclaimed the authority of the king of Tunis; the people rose against the emir; each rebel was independent in his village or castle; and the weaker of two rival brothers implored the friendship of the Christians. [A. D. 1038.] Five hundred Norman warriors marched under the banner of the Greeks; before they could land in Sicily, the rival brothers were reconciled; the union of that island and Africa was restored; and the coast was guarded by the numerous forces of the faithful: but the Norman valour despised all obstacles; in three successive engagements the Saracens were routed; and Maniaces, the general of the Greeks, reduced thirteen cities, and the greater part of Sicily, under the obedience of the emperor; but his avarice excluded his gallant auxiliaries from the division

ſion of the ſpoil. They complained by the mouth of their interpreter; their complaints were diſregarded, and their interpreter ſcourged. The injury and inſult provoked their reſentment; but they diſſembled till their return to the Italian continent; their brethren of Averſa eſpouſed their indignation; with ſeven hundred horſe and five hundred foot, they invaded Apulia; and the Byzantine legions, amounting to threeſcore thouſand men, were defeated in two ſucceſſive battles. [A. D. 1040—1043.] Bari, Otranto, Brunduſium, and Tarentum, alone remained of the Grecian empire in Apulia. From this æra we may date the eſtabliſhment of the Norman power. Twelve counts were choſen by the popular ſuffrage; and William of Hauteville, ſurnamed the *Iron Arm*, preſided in this military ſenate. Melphi was appointed as the common habitation and citadel of the republic; but each count erected a fortreſs in, and collected the tribute of, the peculiar diſtrict appropriated to his uſe.

The Normans were ſeated on the verge of the two empires; and according to the policy of the hour they accepted the inveſtiture of their lands from the ſovereigns of Germany, or Conſtantinople; but the firmeſt title of theſe adventurers was the ſword. The twelve counts were ſometimes joined in a league of injuſtice, and ſometimes they diſputed, in domeſtic quarrels, the ſpoils of the people. Drogo, the brother and ſucceſſor of William, was better qualified to lead the valour, than to reſtrain the violence of his peers. To relieve Italy from their ravages, an offenſive alliance was formed of the two emperors of the Eaſt and Weſt,

Weſt, and Pope Leo the Ninth, whoſe venerable character would conſecrate with the name of piety, the meaſures of policy. As a German of royal kindred, Leo poſſeſſed the confidence of the emperor Henry the Third; and his ardent zeal tranſported him to Saxony in ſearch of allies: but during theſe preparations, Argyrus, the ſon of Melo, who had been commiſſioned by the Greek emperor to reſtore the imperial authority in Apulia, was defeated by the Normans, and compelled to retire within the walls of Bari; [A.D. 1051.] he had previouſly procured the aſſaſſination of Drogo; but Humphrey, by a deciſive victory, avenged the death of his brother, and ſucceeded him as the third count of Apulia.

The power of Conſtantine Monomachus was diſtracted by a Turkiſh war; the mind of Henry was feeble and irreſolute; his aſſiſtance conſiſted only of ſeven hundred Swabians, and ſome volunteers of Lorraine; with theſe, and a promiſcuous multitude of Italians, the pope advanced to Beneventum. [A. D. 1053.] The Normans could muſter no more than three thouſand horſe, with a handful of infantry. Their ſpirit was chilled with ſuperſtitious awe; they proſtrated themſelves before their ſpiritual father; but the only alternative propoſed by Leo was death or exile; the conquerors of Apulia aſſumed their former courage; in the plain of Civitella, the Italians were routed, the Germans ſlain, and the pope captured by the valour of Richard of Averſa, Robert the famous Guiſcard, and Humphrey, count of Apulia; [A. D. 1053. July 18.] but the conquerors beheld with veneration the perſon of the pope, and implored his

his absolution of their sinful victory. A treaty was concluded, by which the past and future conquests of Normans were sanctioned; the adventurers acknowledged the claim of the pope, by the payment of twelve pence for every plough-land; and since this memorable transaction, the kingdom of Naples has remained above seven hundred years a fief of the holy see.

Tancred, sprung from the middle order of the Normans, was, by his two marriages, the father of twelve sons. Of these ten departed from Hauteville, the paternal castle in Lower Normandy, in search of a more ample fortune. William, Drogo, and Humphrey, were successively the chiefs of the new republic; Robert was the eldest of the seven sons of the second marriage; in the battle of Civitella he was adjudged to have borne away the prize of valour; his boundless ambition was founded on the consciousness of superior worth; and his surname of *Guiscard*, which the Normans interpret by *callidus*, *cunning*, was expressive of his political wisdom. His brothers and countrymen had divided the fertile lands of Apulia, but they guarded their shares with the jealousy of avarice: the aspiring youth was impelled forwards to the mountains of Calabria; to surprise a castle, or a convent, was at first the extent of his enterprises; but the volunteers of Normandy flocked to his standard, and the peasants of Calabria assumed, under his command, the name and character of Normans.

On the death of his elder brother Humphrey, Guiscard, to the prejudice of his nephew, was exalted on a buckler, and saluted count of Apulia and general of the

the republic. He resumed the conquest of Calabria; and his obsequious devotion to pope Nicholas obtained for himself and his posterity the ducal title, with the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and all the lands, both in Italy and Sicily, which his sword could rescue from the schismatic Greeks, and the unbelieving Saracens. [A. D. 1060.] The soldiers hailed with acclamations their valiant duke; but the free voice of his parliament of barons sometimes opposed his designs; the twelve counts of popular election conspired against his authority; and the sons of Humphrey demanded justice and revenge against their perfidious uncle. Their plots were discovered; their rebellions suppressed; and the guilty punished with exile or death; but the national strength was unprofitably consumed in these domestic feuds, and it was four years before the fortress of Bari could be reduced by the Norman arms.

The Italian conquests of Robert correspond with the limits of the present kingdom of Naples, and extended over the Greek provinces of Calabria and Apulia, the Lombard principality of Salerno, the republic of Amalphi, and the inland dependencies of the duchy of Beneventum. Three districts only were exempted; the immediate territory of Benevento, which had been transferred from the German emperor to the Roman pontiff, and was protected by the name of St. Peter; the state of Capua, which was subdued and held by the first colony of Aversa; and the dukes of Naples, the present metropolis, who maintained the popular freedom under the shadow of the Byzantine empire;

empire; but the acquisitions of Guiscard contained the science of Salerno, and the trade of Amalphi.

Roger, the twelfth and last of the sons of Tancred, had long been detained in Normandy by his own and his father's age; he at length was summoned to the Apulian camp; and his invasion of Sicily was seconded by the zeal and policy of his brother Guiscard. [A. D. 1060.] At the head of sixty followers, he landed on a hostile shore; drove the Saracens to the gates of Messina; and safely returned with the spoils of the adjacent country. In the fortress of Trani, his active and patient courage were equally conspicuous; and with three hundred Normans he repulsed the forces of the island. In the field of Ceramio, the Saracens were again overthrown; and in the siege of Palermo, Roger was stimulated by the presence of his brother Guiscard, who seconded his efforts with the gallies of Pisa. After a war of thirty years, Roger, with the title of great count, obtained the sovereignty of the largest and most fruitful island of the Mediterranean; [A. D. 1090.] and his administration displays a liberal and enlightened mind above the limits of his age and education. The Moslems were maintained in the free enjoyment of their religion and property; the island was restored to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff; new bishops were planted, and the clergy amply endowed; but the Catholic hero asserted the right of the civil magistrate; the papal claims on the investiture of benefices he applied to his own profit; and the supremacy of the crown was secured and enlarged

larged by the bull, which declares the princes of Sicily hereditary and perpetual legates of the holy ſee.

The poſſeſſion of Apulia and Calabria was inadequate to the ambition of Robert Guiſcard; and he reſolved to embrace the firſt occaſion of invading the Roman empire of the Eaſt. He had been divorced from his firſt wife, under the pretence of conſanguinity; and her ſon Bohemond was deſtined to imitate, rather than ſucceed, his illuſtrious father. The ſecond wife of Guiſcard was the daughter of the prince of Salerno. Roger, the ſon of this marriage, ſucceeded to Robert as duke of Apulia; and of five daughters, one was betrothed to Conſtantine, the ſon and heir of the emperor Michael; but the throne of the family of Ducas was ſubverted by a revolution; and Robert deplored and reſented the diſgrace of his daughter, and the expulſion of his ally. He adopted the pretenſions of an adventurer who called himſelf the father of Conſtantine; and the cauſe of the fictitious Michael was eſpouſed by the ſubtle Guiſcard, who had contrived the fraud. Two years were conſumed in aſſiduous preparations; the land and naval forces were aſſembled at Otranto; Robert was accompanied by his wife, who fought by his ſide, his ſon Bohemond, and the pretended Michael; and thirteen hundred knights of Norman race formed the ſinews of an army, which might be ſwelled to thirty thouſand followers of every denomination.

The iſlands and maritime towns of Epirus were rapidly ſubdued by the arms and name of Robert; and

and from Corfu, he moved with his fleet and army to the ſiege of Durazzo. [A. D. 1081.] The fortifications of that city were defended by a numerous garriſon, under the command of George Palæologus. Part of the fleet of Robert was ſhipwrecked on the Acroceraunian rocks; the remainder was vanquiſhed by the naval powers of the Venetians, who had been ſolicited by the prayers and promiſes of the Byzantine court; the camp of the Normans was afflicted by a peſtilential diſeaſe, which ſwept off ten thouſand perſons; but amidſt every diſaſter, the mind of Guiſcard was invincible; he collected freſh forces from Sicily and Apulia; and urged the ſiege of Durazzo with unabated ardour.

Alexius, the founder of the Comnenian dynaſty, had aſcended the throne of Conſtantinople: he concluded an immediate peace with the Turks, and with an army of ſeventy thouſand men, haſtily aſſembled, preſſed forward to the relief of Durazzo. His prudence dictated to him, and his numbers enabled him, to ſurround and ſtarve the diſtreſſed beſiegers; but the clamours of his troops, impatient of ſubordination, compelled him to hazard a ſpeedy and deciſive action. On the approach of the Greeks, Robert aſſembled a council of his principal officers. "You behold," ſaid he, "your danger; it is urgent and inevitable. The "hills are covered with arms and ſtandards; and the "emperor of the Greeks is accuſtomed to wars and "triumphs. Obedience and union are our only ſafety; "and I am ready to yield the command to a more "worthy leader." Aſſured of the eſteem of his followers,

followers, the duke continued, "Let us truſt in the "rewards of victory, and deprive cowardice of the "means of eſcape. Let us burn our veſſels and our "baggage, and give battle on this ſpot, as if it were "the place of our nativity and our burial." The reſolution was approved; and Guiſcard, without confining himſelf to his lines, awaited the approach of the enemy, on the ſame ground, perhaps, on which Cæſar and Pompey had diſputed the empire of the world.

On the firſt onſet, the Varangians, who attended the perſon of the Greek emperor, made a bloody impreſſion on the army of Guiſcard, which was now reduced to fifteen thouſand men. The Lombards and Calabrians ignominiouſly turned their backs; Gaita, the wife of Robert, though wounded by an arrow, ſtill maintained her ground, and ſtrove, by her example, to rally the flying troops. The voice and arm of her huſband was more powerful. "Whither," he cried aloud, "whither do you fly? your enemy is "implacable; and death is leſs grievous than ſervi-"tude." [A. D. 1081. Oct. 18.] The battle was reſtored; the Varangians were ſlaughtered, the Turks fled, the Greeks were diſperſed; and the emperor Alexius, who had diſcharged the duties of a general and a ſoldier, burſt through ſurrounding enemies, and after wandering two days and nights in the mountains, entered the friendly walls of Lychnidus. Of the Norman knights only thirty fell, but with theſe periſhed the impoſtor Michael, whoſe death was more honourable than his life.

The victors were introduced into Durazzo by the

treachery of a Venetian. [A. D. 1082. Feb. 8.] From that city, the Norman duke advanced into the heart of Epirus, traverſed the firſt mountains of Theſſaly, approached Theſſalonica, and made Conſtantinople tremble. He was recalled from this rapid progreſs, by the revolt of the cities and barons of Apulia, the diſtreſs of the pope, and the invaſion of Henry, king of Germany. He repaſſed the ſea in a ſingle brigantine, and left the army under the command of Bohemond. The ſon of Guiſcard trod in the footſteps of his father; after winning two battles againſt the emperor, he deſcended into the plain of Theſſaly, and beſieged Lariſſa. Alexius had been taught experience by his defeats; every artifice of war was called in to his ſupport; the camp of Bohemond was pillaged by a ſtratagem of the Greeks; the city of Lariſſa was impregnable; the diſcontented counts abandoned the Norman ſtandard; and the ſon of Guiſcard, evacuating the conqueſt he could no longer defend, embarked for Italy, and was embraced by a father who eſteemed his merit, and ſympathized in his misfortunes.

The invaſion of Italy by the king of Germany was firſt excited by a ſpark of enmity to pope Gregory the Seventh; the flame was ſpread by the liberality of the emperor, and extinguiſhed by the valour of the duke of Apulia. The Roman pontiff was already beſieged in the caſtle of St. Angelo, when Guiſcard unfurling the holy banner, advanced at the head of ſix thouſand horſe, and thirty thouſand foot, to the relief of the prince of the apoſtles. Henry trembled at his approach;

proach; he haſtily retreated three days before the entrance of the Normans; [A. D, 1084.] and Robert, in leſs than three years, enjoyed the proud ſatisfaction of delivering the pope, and compelling the two emperors of the Eaſt and Weſt to fly before his victorious arms; but the triumph of Robert was clouded by the calamities of Rome; an haſty word of the conqueror was the ſignal of ſedition; the holy city was profaned by the licentious vices of the citizens, the Saracens and the Normans; and a ſpacious quarter of Rome, from the Lateran to the Coliſeum, was conſumed by the flames, and devoted to perpetual ſolitude.

In the ſame year of the flight of the German emperor, the indefatigable Robert reſumed the deſign of his eaſtern conqueſts. His fleet, either by neglect, or the change of wind, paſſed through the united navies of the Greeks and Venetians; the Norman troops were ſafely diſembarked on the coaſt of Epirus; [A. D. 1084.] and Robert, with twenty well-appointed gallies, fought the ſquadrons of the enemy, and truſted his life to the event of a naval combat; two engagements were indeciſive; but in the third the Normans obtained a final and complete victory. The brigantines of the Greeks were ſcattered in ignominious flight; of the nine larger veſſels of the Venetians ſeven were ſunk, and two were taken. In the enſuing ſpring, the arms of Robert were turned againſt Greece, and the iſlands; but while he aſpired to the conqueſt of Conſtantinople, his projects were blaſted by an epide-

mical diſeaſe; and Robert, in the ſeventieth year of his age, expired in the iſland of Cephalonia, not without ſome ſuſpicion of poiſon being imputed to his wife, or the Greek emperor. On his death, the victorious Normans retreated in diſorder and conſternation; his ſon Roger ſunk to the humble ſtation of duke of Apulia; but the valiant Bohemond, to whom his father's eſteem had devolved the inheritance of his ſword, diſturbed the national tranquillity till the firſt cruſade againſt the infidels of the Eaſt opened a more ſplendid field of glory and conqueſt.

The male line of Robert Guiſcard was extinguiſhed, both in Apulia and Antioch, in the ſecond generation; but his younger brother became the father of a line of kings; and the ſon of the great count was endowed with the name, the conqueſts, and the ſpirit of the firſt Roger. At the age of only four years, he ſucceeded to the ſovereignty of the iſland. [A. D. 1101.] On the death of his couſin William, of Apulia, Roger ſailed from Palermo with ſeven gallies, [A. D. 1127.] caſt anchor in the bay of Salerno, received an oath of fidelity from the Norman capital, and extorted a legal inveſtiture from the pope. He ſoon reduced Capua and Naples, and diſdaining the titles of duke and count, he accepted that of king of Sicily from pope Anacletus, whoſe apoſtolic authority was attacked by the adverſe election of Innocent the Second. The choice of an eccleſiaſtical patron had near proved fatal to the monarchy of Roger. The ſword of Lothaire

thaire the Second of Germanv, the excommunications of Innocent, and the fleets of Piſa, were united for the ruin of the Sicilian robber. The new monarch was driven from Apulia; but, with the retreat of the German armies, he returned; exterminated a feeble rival who had been inveſted with the dukedom, became the maſter and friend of the haughty pontiff, and promiſed as a penance for his war againſt the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, to diſplay the banner of the croſs, a vow propitious to his intereſt and revenge.

The diſſentions of the Moſlems opened the ſea-coaſts of Africa to the enterpriſes of the Greeks and Franks, who, before the cloſe of the eleventh century, had extorted a ranſom of two hundred thouſand pieces of gold. The recent injuries of Sicily might provoke a juſt retaliation on the heads of the Saracens. By the firſt arms of Roger, the iſland, or rock, of Malta, which has been ſince ennobled by a military and religious colony, was inſeparably annexed to the crown of Sicily. [A. D. 1122—1152.] Tripoli was the next object of his ſucceſsful attacks. Mahadia, the capital of Africa, was abandoned to the rapacious invaders. In ſucceſſive expeditions, the king of Sicily, or his lieutenants, reduced the cities of Tunis, Safax, Capſia, Bona, and a long tract of ſea-coaſt. The fortreſſes were garriſoned, the country was tributary, and Roger might undoubtedly inſcribe on his ſword, that it held Africa in ſubjection. After his death, that ſword was broken; and theſe tranſ-marine poſſeſſions were neglected,

glected, evacuated, or loſt, under the troubled reign of his ſucceſſor.

Roger, exaſperated by the contemptuous treatment of his ambaſſadors at the Byzantine court, reſumed the hoſtile deſigns of Robert Guiſcard, againſt the empire of the Eaſt. [A. D. 1146.] George, the admiral of Sicily, received the ſubmiſſion of Corfu, ſpread the terror of the Norman name over the provinces of Greece, and violated by rapine and cruelty the venerable age of Athens, Thebes, and Corinth. The progreſs of this naval armament was marked by two conſpicuous events,—the reſcue of the king of France, and the inſult of the Byzantine capital. Louis the Seventh, in his return by ſea from an unfortunate cruſade, was baſely intercepted by the Greeks; the royal captive was delivered by the fortunate encounter of the Norman fleet. Conſtantinople and the Helleſpont, in the abſence of the Greek emperor, were left without the ſuſpicion of danger; the Sicilian admiral caſt anchor in the front of the imperial city, landed ſome ſoldiers to rifle the royal gardens, and pointed his arrows againſt the palace of the Cæſars. The reſentment of Manuel ſoon covered the Archipelago and the Ionian ſea, with his own ſquadrons, and thoſe of Venice; nineteen of the gallies of George were ſeparated and taken; and Corfu implored the clemency of her lawful monarch. The life and proſperity of Roger were no more; [A. D. 1154.] and the emperor of the Greeks aſpired to recover from William the Firſt the provinces of Italy and Sicily, and to chaſtiſe this pretended

tended king, the grandſon of a Norman vaſſal. His lieutenant Palœologus, with a fleet and army, reduced Bari by force or corruption; in two campaigns the Norman prince loſt the greater part of his continental poſſeſſions, and Manuel claimed the indefeaſible dominion of Italy, and profeſſed his deſign of chaſing the Barbarians beyond the Alps. But theſe conqueſts ſoon eluded the graſp of the Greek emperor; his ambaſſadors had invited pope Alexander the Third to join in ſeizing the favourable occaſion of humbling the pride of the Germans; the politic pontiff pauſed on this momentous revolution; he reconciled himſelf with Frederic Barbaroſſa, the German monarch; rejected the propoſals of Manuel, and at length excommunicated his adherents; the death of the gallant Palœologus devolved the command on ſeveral chiefs as conſpicuous for their rank, as they were defective in military talents; Apulia and Calabria were recovered by the king of Sicily; the Greeks were oppreſſed by ſea and land; and thoſe who eſcaped the ſwords of the Normans, abjured all future hoſtility againſt the perſon or dominions of their conqueror. Yet the king of Sicily reſpected the conſtancy of Manuel, who had landed a ſecond army on the Italian ſhore. [A. D. 1156.] He ſolicited a truce of thirty years, accepted the regal title as a gift, and acknowledged himſelf the military vaſſal of the Roman empire. About the end of that term, the throne of Manuel was uſurped by the tyrant Andronicus; the ſword of William the Second, the grandſon of Roger, was drawn by a fugitive

of the Comnenian race; [A. D. 1183.] but the troops of Sicily were chiefly employed in the ſack of Theſſalonica; and Iſaac Angelus, the new Grecian emperor, avenged the calamities of that city by the ſlaughter of ten thouſand Normans.

The ſceptre of Roger ſucceſſively devolved to his ſon and grandſon, confounded under the name of William, but ſtrongly diſcriminated by the epithets of *bad* and *good*. [A. D. 1154.] The firſt William did not degenerate from the valour of his race; but his temper was ſlothful, his manners diſſolute, and his paſſions headſtrong. Private feuds, and the various forms of calamity and diſcord, afflicted Palermo, the iſland, and the continent, during the reign of William the Firſt, and the minority of his ſon. [A. D. 1166.] The youth, innocence, and beauty of William the Second, endeared him to the nation; the factions were reconciled, the laws were revived, and from the manhood to the death of that prince, Italy enjoyed a ſhort ſeaſon of peace, juſtice, and happineſs. In the perſon of William the Second, the legitimate male poſterity of Tancred of Hauteville was extinct; but the daughter of Roger had married Henry the Sixth of Germany, and that prince deſcended from the Alps to claim the inheritance of his wife. [A. D. 1189.] The free election of Tancred, the illegitimate grandſon of Roger, for four years withſtood the arms of Germany; but the death of that valiant prince once more expoſed Apulia to the power and claims of Henry,

Henry, who purſued his victorious march from Capua to Palermo. [A. D. 1194.] Ten years after this revolution, the French monarchy annexed to their crown the duchy of Normandy. [A. D. 1204.] The ſceptre of her ancient dukes had been tranſmitted by a grand-daughter of William the Conqueror to the houſe of Plantagenet; and the adventurous Normans were loſt either in victory or ſervitude among the nations they had vanquiſhed.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE TURKS OF THE HOUSE OF SELJUK—THEIR REVOLT AGAINST MAHMUD, CONQUEROR OF HINDOSTAN—TOGRUL SUBDUES PERSIA, AND PROTECTS THE CALIPHS—DEFEAT AND CAPTIVITY OF THE EMPEROR ROMANUS DIOGENES BY ALP ARSLAN—POWER OF MALEK SHAH—CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR—CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM.

WHILE Apulia and Sicily were ſubdued by the Norman lance, the thrones of Aſia were occupied by ſlaves and ſoldiers of Turkiſh extraction, whoſe Scythian empire had been long diſſolved. Mamood, or Mahmud, one of the greateſt of the Turkiſh princes, reigned in the eaſtern provinces of Perſia, one thouſand years after the birth of Chriſt. [A. D. 997.] His father Sebectagi was the domeſtic ſlave to a lieutenant of the Samanides, who broke by his revolt the bonds of political ſubjection; and Sebectagi, by his courage and dexterity, raiſed himſelf from ſervitude in the family of that rebel, to the ſupreme command of the city and province of Gazna, as the ſon-in-law and ſucceſſor of his gateful maſter. Amidſt the public diſorders, the fortune of Mahmud continually increaſed. For him the title of *ſultan* was firſt invented; and his kingdom was enlarged from Tranſoxiana to the neighbourhood of Iſpahan, from the ſhores of the Caſpian to the mouth of the Indus. The war which he waged againſt the Gentoos of Hindoſtan, was the principal ſource of his fame and riches.

The

The height of the mountains, the breadth of the rivers, the barrenneſs of the Deſert, or the multitudes of the enemy, never diſmayed the muſſulman hero. He marched over the hills of Caſhmir and Thibet; reached the famous city of Kinnoge on the Upper Ganges; on one of the branches of the Indus, he vanquiſhed in a naval combat four thouſand boats of the natives; Dehli, Lahor, and Multan, were compelled to open their gates; and the fertile kingdom of Guzarat attracted his ambition, and tempted his ſtay. On the payment of a tribute, the *rajahs* preſerved their dominions; but the zealous muſſulman was inexorable to the religion of Hindoſtan; the pagodas were levelled to the ground; the idols were demoliſhed; and the zeal of the ſervants of the prophet was quickened by the riches with which they were adorned. The pagoda of Sunnat was ſituated on the promontory of Guzarat in the neighbourhood of Diu. It was endowed with the revenue of two thouſand villages; and the race of fanatics, who inhabited the city and adjacent country, believed, if the impious ſtranger ſhould approach their *holy* limits, he would ſurely be overwhelmed by a blaſt of the divine vengeance; the death of fifty thouſand by the ſpears of the faithful, convinced them of their fatal error; the conqueror aimed a blow of his iron mace at the head of the idol; the trembling brahmins are reported to have offered ten millions ſterling for his ranſom; the counſellors of Mahmud preſſed him to accept it: "Your reaſons," replied the ſultan, "are ſpecious and ſtrong; but "never in the eyes of poſterity ſhall Mahmud appear

"as

"as a merchant of idols." He repeated his blows, and a treaſure of pearls and rubies, concealed in the ſtatue, rewarded his zeal, and explained the devout anxiety of the brahmins.

The juſtice and magnanimity of Mahmud are atteſted by two familiar ſtories.—I. As he ſat in the divan, a ſubject accuſed before the throne the inſolence of a Turkiſh ſoldier, who had driven him from his houſe and bed. "Suſpend your clamours," ſaid Mahmud; "inform me of his next viſit, and ourſelf "in perſon will judge and puniſh the offender." The ſultan followed his guide, inveſted the houſe with his guards, and, extinguiſhing his torches, pronounced the death of the criminal, who had been ſeized in the act of rapine and adultery. After the execution of his ſentence, the lights were rekindled, Mahmud fell proſtrate in prayer, and, riſing from the ground, demanded ſome homely fare, which he devoured with the voraciouſneſs of hunger. The poor man, whoſe injury he had avenged, was unable to ſuppreſs his aſtoniſhment and curioſity; and the courteous monarch condeſcended to explain the motives of this ſingular behaviour. "I had reaſon to ſuſpect, "that none, except one of my ſons, could dare "to perpetrate ſuch an outrage; and I extin- "guiſhed the lights, that my juſtice might be blind "and inexorable. My prayer was a thankſgiving "on the diſcovery of the offender; and ſo painful "was my anxiety, that I had paſſed three days with- "out food ſince the firſt moment of your complaint." —II. The ſultan of Gazna had declared war againſt the

the dynaſty of the Bowides, the ſovereigns of the weſtern Perſia. He was diſarmed by an epiſtle of the ſultana mother, and delayed his invaſion till the manhood of her ſon. "During the life of my huſband," ſaid the artful regent, "I was ever apprehenſive of "your ambition: he was a prince and a ſoldier wor-"thy of your arms. He is now no more; his ſceptre "has paſſed to a woman and a child, and you *dare* "not attack their infancy and weakneſs. How in-"glorious would be your conqueſt! how ſhame-"ful your defeat! and yet the event of war is in "the hand of the Almighty." Avarice was the only defect that tarniſhed the illuſtrious character of Mahmud; and that paſſion was richly ſatiated by the virgin ſpoils of Hindoſtan. But the inſtability of human greatneſs diſturbed the repoſe of his declining years; and his grief was embittered by the hoſtile progreſs of the Turkmans, whom he had introduced into the heart of his Perſian kingdom.

Two conſiderable branches of the Turkmans extend on either ſide of the Caſpian Sea. The weſtern colony can muſter forty thouſand ſoldiers; the eaſtern, leſs obvious to the traveller, but more ſtrong and populous, has increaſed to the number of one hundred thouſand families. In the midſt of civilized nations, they preſerve the manners of the Scythian Deſert, remove their encampments with the change of ſeaſons, and feed their cattle among the ruins of palaces. Their wandering life maintains the ſpirit and exerciſe of arms; they fight on horſeback; and their courage is diſplayed in frequent conteſts with each other, and with their neighbours. For the licence of paſture, they

they pay a ſlight tribute to the ſovereign of the land; but the domeſtic juriſdiction is in the hands of the chiefs and the elders.

The firſt emigration of the eaſtern Turkmans may be aſcribed to the tenth century of the Chriſtian æra. In the decline of the caliphs, ſeveral of the wandering tribes, embracing the Mahometan faith, obtained free encampments, in the ſpacious plains of Tranſoxiana and Carizme. Theſe emigrations and ſettlements were encouraged by Mahmud beyond the example of former times; he was admoniſhed of his error by a chief of the race of Seljuk, who dwelt in the territory of Bochara. The ſultan had inquired what ſupply of men he could furniſh for military ſervice. "If you ſend," replied Iſmael, "one of theſe arrows into our camp, "fifty thouſand of your ſervants will mount on horſe-"back." "And if that number," continued Mahmud, "ſhould not be ſufficient?" "Send this ſe-"cond arrow to the hord of Balik, and you will find "fifty thouſand more." "But," ſaid the ſultan, diſſembling his anxiety, "if I ſhould ſtand in need of "the whole force of your kindred tribes?" "Diſ-"patch my bow," was the laſt reply of Iſmael, "and "as it is circulated round, the ſummons will be obey-"ed by two hundred thouſand horſe." The apprehenſions of Mahmud induced him to tranſport the moſt obnoxious tribes into the heart of Choraſan. [A. D. 1028] But the abſence and death of the ſultan of Gazna relaxed the vigour of government: the ſhepherds were converted into robbers; the bands of robbers were collected into an army of conquerors; and the Turkmans were not afraid to meaſure their

ſtrength with Maſſoud, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Mahmud. That prince marched in perſon againſt the formidable hoſt of invaders, who attacked him on all ſides with barbarous ſhouts and irregular onſet; [A. D. 1038.] the perſonal valour of Maſſoud was ineffectual; the ſultan was abandoned by the cowardice or treachery of ſome generals of Turkiſh race; and this memorable day of Zendecan founded in Perſia the dynaſty of the ſhepherd kings.

The Turkmans immediately proceeded to the election of a king; and if we can credit a Latin hiſtorian, the choice of their new maſter was determined by lot. A number of arrows were inſcribed ſucceſſively with the name of a tribe, a family, and a candidate; they were drawn from the bundle by the hand of a child; [A. D. 1038.] and the important prize was obtained by Togrul Beg, the ſon of Michael, the ſon of Seljuk. The latter appears to have been a chief of power and renown; and was baniſhed from Turkeſtan for an intruſion into the harem of his prince. He paſſed the Jaxartes with a numerous tribe of friends and vaſſals, encamped in the neighbourhood of Samarcand, embraced the religion of Mahomet, and acquired the crown of martyrdom in a war againſt the infidels; yet Seljuk, before his glorious fate, had attained the age of an hundred and ſeven years; he beheld the death of his ſon, and adopted the care of his grandſons Togrul and Jaafar, the eldeſt of whom was inveſted with the title of ſultan, in the royal city of Niſhabur. The virtues of the ſucceſsful candidate juſtified the determination of chance; he

he expelled the Gaznavides from the eaſtern kingdoms of Perſia, and gradually drove them to the banks of the Indus; he annihilated in the Weſt the dynaſty of the Bowides; by the conqueſt of Media he approached the Roman confines, and his ambaſſadors demanded the tribute and obedience of the emperor of Conſtantinople. In his own dominions Togrul was the father of his ſoldiers and people; and his firm and equal adminiſtration relieved Perſia from the evils of anarchy. The more ruſtic of the Turks continued, under their native princes, to dwell in their tents from the Oxus to the Euphrates; but the Turks of the court imitated the dreſs, language, and manners of the Perſians; and the royal palaces of Niſhabur and Rei diſplayed the magnificence of a great monarchy. The whole body of the Turkiſh nation embraced with fervour the religion of Mahomet; and the firſt of the Seljukian ſovereigns was conſpicuous by his zeal and faith: each day he repeated the five prayers which are enjoined to the true believers: of each week, the two firſt days were conſecrated by an extraordinary faſt; and in every city a moſch was completed before Togrul preſumed to lay the foundations of a palace.

Togrul, with the belief of the koran, imbibed a lively reverence for the ſucceſſor of the prophet. That character was ſtill diſputed by the caliphs of Bagdad and Egypt; Mahmud had declared himſelf in favour of the line of Abbas; yet the ungrateful Haſhemite had changed with the change of fortune; and, after the victory of Zendecan, he named the Seljukian

ſultan

ſultan his temporal vicegerent over the Moſlem world. In the execution of this truſt, Togrul was called to the deliverance of the caliph Cayem, and obeyed the holy ſummons which gave a new kingdom to his arms. At the head of an irreſiſtible force, the ſultan of Perſia marched from Hamadan, [A. D. 1055.] to relieve the commander of the faithful, who was impriſoned in his palace of Bagdad by the revolt of the Turkiſh and Arabian emirs. Before the preſence of the ſon of Seljuk, the prince of the Bowides diſappeared; the heads of the moſt obſtinate rebels were laid at his feet; and he inflicted a leſſon of obedience on the people of Moſul and Bagdad. The grateful caliph received Togrul with every mark of honour and reſpect; declared him the temporal lieutenant of the vicar of the prophet; girded him with two ſcymetars, as the ſymbols of a double reign over the Eaſt and Weſt; and at length beſtowed on him his daughter, and mingled the proud blood of the Haſhemites with that of a Scythian ſhepherd. The royal nuptials were followed by the death of Togrul himſelf; [A. D. 1063.] as he left no children, his nephew Alp Arſlan ſucceeded to the title and prerogatives of ſultan; and his name, after that of the caliph, was pronounced in the public prayers of the Moſlems.

The victories of Nicephorus, Zimiſces, and Baſil, had once more extended the eaſtern provinces of Rome as far as Antioch, and the more diſtant boundaries of Armenia. [A. D. 1050.] Twenty-five years after the death of Baſil, theſe provinces were aſſaulted by myriads of Turkiſh horſe, who overſpread

a frontier of ſix hundred miles from Tauris to Arzeroum. Yet the arms of Togrul made not any laſting impreſſion on the Greek empire; the torrent rolled away from the open country; and the ſultan retired, without glory or ſucceſs, from the ſiege of an Armenian city: but the ſucceſſor of Togrul diſplayed the fierceneſs and generoſity which had procured him the name of Alp Arſlan, the valiant lion; he paſſed the Euphrates, entered Cæſarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia; [A. D. 1065—1068.] and achieved the final conqueſt of Armenia and Georgia. In this holy war the Turkiſh ſultan and his ſon Malek were indefatigable; they penetrated through the woods and vallies of Mount Caucaſus; their captives were compelled to promiſe a ſpiritual as well as temporal obedience; and inſtead of their collars and bracelets, an iron horſeſhoe, a badge of ignominy, was impoſed on the infidels, who ſtill adhered to the worſhip of their fathers.

The Greek empreſs Eudocia, preſſed by the arms of Alp Arſlan, gave herſelf and her ſceptre to the hand of a ſoldier, and Romanus Diogenes was inveſted with the purple. [A. D. 1068.] Within two months after his acceſſion he quitted Conſtantinople; and by his ſpirit and ſucceſs, the ſoldiers were taught to act, the ſubjects to hope, and the enemies to fear. The Turks had penetrated into the heart of Phrygia; and their numerous detachments, in the ſecurity of conqueſt, were ſcattered over the face of Aſia. Laden with ſpoil, and careleſs of diſcipline, they were ſeparately ſurpriſed and defeated by the Greeks. In three laborious campaigns the invaders were driven beyond the Euphrates; in

the fourth and laſt, Romanus undertook the deliverance of Armenia. His army conſiſted of one hundred thouſand men; of the promiſcuous bands which compoſed it, the moſt formidable were the Franks and Normans; and the emperor, confiding in his ſtrength, marched forwards to the ſiege of Melazkerd, an important fortreſs in the midway between the cities of Arzeroum and Van.

Alp Arſlan had reſigned to his emirs the conduct of the war; but on the report of this bold invaſion, he flew to the ſcene of action with forty thouſand horſe; his rapid evolutions diſmayed the ſuperior numbers of the Greeks; the imprudence of the emperor had ſeparated his forces after the reduction of Melazkerd; it was in vain he endeavoured to recal the mercenary Franks; but the fair propoſals of the ſultan allowed him to ſecure a retreat, and perhaps a peace; the anſwer of Romanus was conceived in the tone of inſult and defiance. "If the Barbarian wiſhes for peace, let "him evacuate the ground, which he occupies, for the "encampment of the Romans, and ſurrender his city "and palace of Rei as the pledge of his ſincerity."— Alp Arſlan ſmiled at the vanity of his demand, but he wept the death of ſo many faithful Moſlems; after a devout prayer, he proclaimed a free permiſſion to all who were deſirous of retiring from the field; and declared that if he were vanquiſhed, that ſpot ſhould be the place of his burial. [A. D. 1071. Auguſt.] A deſultory combat was maintained during the greater part of a ſummer's day; but in the moment of laſſitude the Grecian phalanx, broken by the cowardice of Andro-

nicus, who disgraced the birth of the Cæsars, was overwhelmed by the Turkish arrows. Encompassed by the victorious Turks, Romanus stood alone, firm and intrepid, till he was oppressed and bound by the strength of multitudes. Alp Arslan clasped the hand of his royal captive with tender sympathy; censured the unworthy subjects who had deserted their valiant prince in the hour of danger; and assured him that his life and dignity should be inviolate in the hands of a prince, who had learned to respect the majesty of his equals, and the vicissitudes of fortune. In a familiar conversation, Alp Arslan asked him what treatment he expected to receive, and the calm indifference of the emperor displays the freedom of his mind. "If you "are cruel," said he, "you will take my life; if you "listen to pride, you will drag me at your chariot "wheels; if you consult your interest, you will ac- "cept a ransom, and restore me to my country."— "And what," continued the sultan, "would have "been your own behaviour, had fortune smiled on your "arms?" "Had I vanquished," he fiercely replied, "I would have inflicted on your body many a stripe." The Turkish conqueror observed, that the Christian law had inculcated the love of enemies and forgiveness of injuries; and nobly declared that he would not imitate an example which he condemned. He dictated the terms of peace at an annual tribute of three hundred and sixty thousand pieces of gold, and his ransom at a million. Romanus was dismissed with rich presents and a military guard; but his subjects had already chosen another monarch; and the sultan would have

have eſpouſed the cauſe of his ally, had not his deſigns been prevented by the defeat, impriſonment, and death of Romanus Diogenes.

The victorious Alp Arſlan meditated the glorious conqueſt of Turkeſtan, the original ſeat of the houſe of Seljuk. He ſucceſsfully paſſed the Oxus; but his progreſs was intercepted by Joſeph the Carizmian, who preſumed to defend the fortreſs of Berzem againſt the forces of the Eaſt. The ſultan reprimanded his captive for his obſtinate folly; and the inſolent replies of the rebel provoked a ſentence, that he ſhould be faſtened to four ſtakes, and left to expire in that ſituation. The deſperate Carizmian ruſhed with his dagger againſt the throne; the zeal of the guards was checked by Alp Arſlan, who drew his bow; but his foot ſlipped, the arrow glanced aſide, and he received in his breaſt the dagger of Joſeph, who was immediately cut to pieces. [A. D. 1072.] "In my youth," ſaid the dying monarch, "I was adviſed by a ſage to humble "myſelf before God, to diſtruſt my own ſtrength, and "never to deſpiſe the moſt contemptible foe. I have "neglected theſe leſſons, and my neglect has been de"ſervedly puniſhed. Yeſterday, as from an eminence "I beheld the numbers, the diſcipline, and ſpirit of "my armies, the earth ſeemed to tremble under my "feet; and I ſaid in my heart, ſurely thou art the "king of the world, the greateſt and moſt invincible "of warriors. Theſe armies are no longer mine; "and in the confidence of my perſonal ſtrength, I now "fall by the hands of an aſſaſſin." Such were the laſt words of the ſultan, and his ſtately tomb preſented

to the paſſenger this uſeful inſcription. "O ye who "have ſeen the glory of Alp Arſlan exalted to the "heavens, repair to Maru, and you will behold it "buried in the duſt."

Malek Shah eſtabliſhed his ſucceſſion to the throne of Alp Arſlan, by a triple victory over an uncle, a couſin, and a brother. On the eve of the battle, as he performed his devotions at Thous, he aſked his vizir Nizam, who had knelt beſide him, what had been the object of his ſecret petition; "that your arms may "be crowned with victory," was the anſwer of the miniſter; "for my part," replied the generous Malek, "I implored the Lord of hoſts, that he would take "from me my life and crown, if my brother be more "worthy than myſelf to reign over the Moſlems."—The favourable judgment of Heaven was ratified by the caliph; and the ſacred title of commander of the faithful was communicated to a Barbarian; but this Barbarian, by his perſonal merit, and the extent of his empire, was the greateſt prince of his age; he reduced Turkeſtan, and extended his authority over Caſhgar, a Tartar kingdom on the extreme borders of China. From the Chineſe frontier, he ſtretched his juriſdiction as far as the mountains of Georgia, the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople, the holy city of Jeruſalem, and the ſpicy groves of Arabia Fælix: but his ambaſſadors had in vain aſked in marriage a Roman princeſs; and while he meditated the deſign of fixing his reſidence at Bagdad, the capital of the Moſlems, the ſultan was ſummoned by the angel of death, and with his perſon the greatneſs and unity of the Turkiſh empire expired.

[A. D.

[A. D. 1092.] The eldeſt branch of the Seljuk family eſtabliſhed the *Perſian dynaſty*; the three younger, the dynaſties of *Kerman*, of *Syria*, and of *Roum*; the firſt of theſe commanded an obſcure dominion on the ſhores of the Indian ocean; the ſecond expelled the Arabian princes of Aleppo and Damaſcus; the third invaded the Roman provinces of Aſia.

Soliman, the third in deſcent from Seljuk, had drawn his ſword againſt Malek; they were reconciled by the mediation of the caliph; and Soliman undertook the war againſt the unbelieving Greeks, and accepted the royal ſtandard, which gave him the free conqueſt and hereditary command of the provinces of the Roman empire, from Arzeroum to Conſtantinople, and the unknown regions of the Weſt. Accompanied by his four brothers, he paſſed the Euphrates; [A. D. 1074.] ſoon pitched his camp in Phrygia, and his cavalry laid waſte the country as far as the Helleſpont and the Black Sea. The forces of Soliman enabled Botoniates, an aſpiring general of the Greeks, to mount the imperial throne, and ſupplant the feeble ſon of Eudocia: but the obedience and revenues of the Aſiatic provinces were diverted from the new emperor by the Turks; and the dread of the Normans compelled Alexius, in the ſucceeding reign, to confirm to Soliman his acquiſitions in a formal treaty of peace.

Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, was choſen by the ſultan, as the capital of his new empire; and Antioch was ſoon oppreſſed by the arms of an ambitious monarch, who marched ſix hundred miles in

twelve nights to surprise that city; the dependant cities, as far as Laodicea, and the confines of Aleppo, submitted, without reluctance, or at least without opposition; [A. D. 1084.] and the conquests and reign of Soliman from Laodicea to the Thracian Bosphorus, extended thirty days journey in length; and in breadth about ten or fifteen, between the rocks of Lycia and the Black Sea.

The zeal of pilgrimage towards the eleventh century had encreased beyond the example of former times; the roads to Jerusalem were covered with multitudes of either sex, and of every rank, who professed their contempt of life, so soon as they should have kissed the tomb of their Redeemer. Sultan Toucush, the brother of Malek Shah, asserted his claim to the dominion of Syria and Palestine; but the hereditary command of the holy city and territory was entrusted to the emir Ortok, the chief of a tribe of Turkmans, whose manners still breathed the fierceness of the Desert. From Nice to Jerusalem, the western countries of Asia were a scene of foreign and domestic hostility; the shepherds of Palestine, who held a precarious sway on a doubtful frontier, had neither leisure or capacity to await the slow profits of commercial and religious freedom; the pilgrims were the victims of private rapine, or public oppression; the pathetic tale excited the millions of the West to march under the standard of the cross to the relief of the holy land; a spirit of religious chivalry arose; a nerve was touched of exquisite feeling; and the sensation vibrated to the heart of Europe.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XLII.

ORIGIN AND NUMBERS OF THE FIRST CRUSADE—CHARACTERS OF THE LATIN PRINCES—THEIR MARCH TO CONSTANTINOPLE—POLICY OF THE GREEK EMPEROR—CONQUEST OF NICE, ANTIOCH, AND JERUSALEM—GODFREY OF BOUILLON, FIRST KING OF JERUSALEM.

ABOUT twenty years after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks, the holy sepulchre was visited by an hermit of the name of Peter, a native of Amiens, in the province of Picardy. His resentment and sympathy were excited by his own injuries and the oppression of the Christian name. From Jerusalem the pilgrim returned an accomplished fanatic, and determined to rouse the martial nations of Europe to the deliverance of the holy land. Pope Urban the Second received him as a prophet, and applauded his glorious design; [A. D. 1095—1099.] and the zealous missionary, invigorated by the approbation of the pontiff, traversed with speed and success the provinces of Italy and France. His head bare, his feet naked, his meagre body wrapt in a coarse garment, he preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the streets, and the highways; when he painted the sufferings of the natives and pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion; when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren, and rescue their saviour, every breast glowed with indignation; the rustic enthu-

enthuſiaſt inſpired the paſſions which he felt, and Chriſtendom expected with impatience the counſels and decrees of the ſupreme pontiff.

The council, aſſembled by Urban for conſidering this important enterpriſe, met at Placentia, and conſiſted of two hundred biſhops of Italy, France, Burgundy, Swabia, and Bavaria; [A. D. 1095. March.] four thouſand of the clergy, and thirty thouſand of the laity attended; and the ſeſſion of ſeven days was held in a ſpacious plain adjacent to the city. The ambaſſadors of the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, were introduced to plead the diſtreſs of their ſovereign, and the danger of Conſtantinople. At the ſad tale of the miſery of their eaſtern brethren, the aſſembly burſt into tears; and the moſt eager champions declared their readineſs inſtantly to march under the holy banner; but the prudent pope adjourned the final deciſion to a ſecond ſynod; and in the autumn of the ſame year, at Clermont, in the territories of the count Auvergne, the Roman pontiff convened a council not leſs numerous or reſpectable than the ſynod of Placentia. [A. D. 1095. November.] His eloquence was addreſſed to a well prepared and impatient audience. His topics were obvious, his exhortation was vehement, his ſucceſs inevitable. The orator was interrupted by the ſhouts of thouſands, who with one voice, and in their ruſtic idiom, exclaimed aloud, "God wills it! God wills it!" "It is indeed the will of God," replied the pope, "and let "this memorable word be for ever adopted as your "cry of battle, to animate the courage of the champi-

"ons

"ons of Chriſt. His croſs is the ſymbol of your "ſalvation; wear it, a red, a bloody croſs, as a pledge "of your ſacred and irrevocable engagement." The propoſal was joyfully accepted; great numbers, both of the clergy and laity, impreſſed on their garments the ſign of the croſs; and after a confeſſion and abſolution of their ſins, the champions of the croſs were diſmiſſed with a ſuperfluous admonition to invite their countrymen and friends; and their departure for the holy land was fixed to the feſtival of the aſſumption, the fifteenth of Auguſt, of the enſuing year.

In the age of the cruſades, the Chriſtians, both of the Eaſt and Weſt, were perſuaded of the lawfulneſs and merit of the holy war. They inſiſted on the right of natural and religious defence, their peculiar title to the holy land, and the impiety of their Pagan and Mahometan foes. The victorious Turks aſſerted a divine claim of univerſal empire; in leſs than thirty years they had ſubdued the kingdoms of Aſia, as far as Jeruſalem and the Helleſpont; and the Greek empire tottered on the verge of deſtruction. To the worldly apprehenſion of their progreſs, were added ſpiritual motives and indulgences. In the middle ages, the biſhops and prieſts interrogated ſinners; compelled them to give an account of their thoughts, words, and actions; and preſcribed the terms of their reconciliation with God. A year of penance was appreciated at about four pounds ſterling for the rich; and at nine ſhillings for the indigent; it is a maxim of the civil law, that whoſoever cannot pay with his purſe muſt pay with his body; the practice of flagellation was adopted

adopted by the monks, a cheap though painful equivalent; and a year of penance was taxed at three thousand lashes. In the council of Clermont, the pope proclaimed a *plenary indulgence* to those who should enlist under the banner of the cross; the absolution of *all* their sins, and a full receipt for *all* that might be due of canonical penance. The robber, the incendiary, the homicide, arose by thousands, and the terms of atonement were eagerly embraced by offenders of every rank and denomination. To these were superadded less pure temptations; the spoils of a Turkish emir; the flavour of the wines, and the beauty of the Grecian women; and each warrior depended on his sword to carve a plenteous and honourable establishment, which he measured only by the extent of his wishes. These inducements were potent and numerous; the ignorance, which magnified the hopes, diminished the perils of the enterprise, and to defray their preparations, princes alienated their provinces, nobles their lands and castles, and peasants their cattle and the instruments of husbandry.

The fifteenth of August had been fixed in the council of Clermont for the departure of the pilgrims; [A. D. 1096. May.] but the day was anticipated by a crowd of thoughtless plebeians. Early in the spring, above sixty thousand of the populace of both sexes, from the confines of France and Lorraine, flocked round Peter the Hermit, and pressed the missionary to lead them to the holy sepulchre. The unqualified fanatic assumed the character of a general, and moved with his votaries along the banks of the Rhine and Danube.

Danube. Their wants and numbers ſoon compelled them to ſeparate, and Walter the Pennyleſs, a valiant though needy ſoldier, conducted the vanguard of the pilgrims. The footſteps of Peter were cloſely purſued by the monk Godeſcal, whoſe ſermons had ſwept away fifteen or twenty thouſand peaſants from the villages of Germany. The rear was again preſſed by two hundred thouſand of the refuſe of the people, who mingled with their devotion a brutal licence of rapine, proſtitution, and drunkenneſs. The perſecution of the Jews was the firſt warfare of theſe enthuſiaſts; and at Verdun, Treves, Mentz, Spires, and Worms, many thouſands of that unhappy people were pillaged and maſſacred. A remnant was ſaved by a feigned converſion; but the more obſtinate precipitated themſelves, their families, and their wealth, into the rivers or the flames; and diſappointed, at leaſt, the avarice of their implacable enemies.

In their march through the wild and extenſive countries of Hungary and Bulgaria, the diſorders of the pilgrims provoked the ferocious nature of the inhabitants; and many myriads of the cruſaders were the victims of their indignation and revenge. About a third of the naked fugitives, and the hermit Peter was of the number, eſcaped to the Thracian mountains; they were conducted to Conſtantinople by eaſy journies; and tranſported to the Aſiatic ſide of the Boſphorus, by the caution of the emperor Alexius, who adviſed them to await the arrival of their brethren. Their blind impetuoſity ſoon urged them to deſert the ſtation which he had aſſigned them, and to

ruſh headlong againſt the Turks, who occupied the road to Jeruſalem; Peter the Hermit had withdrawn from the camp to Conſtantinople; Walter the Pennyleſs in vain attempted to introduce ſome order among the promiſcuous multitude; they were allured into the plain of Nice, overwhelmed by the Turkiſh arrows, and three hundred thouſand of the firſt cruſaders periſhed before a ſingle city was reſcued from the infidels, or their graver brethren had completed the preparations of their enterpriſe.

In the firſt cruſade, none of the great ſovereigns of Europe embarked. The emperor, Henry the Fourth, was not diſpoſed to obey the ſummons of the pope, with whom he was at variance; Philip the Firſt of France was occupied by his pleaſures; William Rufus of England by a recent conqueſt; the kings of Spain were engaged in a domeſtic war againſt the Moors; and the northern monarchs of Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, were yet ſtrangers to the paſſions and intereſts of the ſouth. But the religious ardour was ſtrongly felt by the princes of the ſecond order, who held an important place in the feudal ſyſtem. I. Of the principal, the foremoſt in war and council was Godfrey of Bouillon; his father was of the noble race of the counts of Boulogne; and he himſelf was inveſted by the emperor's bounty with the ducal title of Lorraine; his valour was matured by prudence and mederation; his piety, though blind, was ſincere; and in the tumult of a camp, he practiſed the real and fictitious virtues of a convent. He was accompanied by his two brothers, Euſtace the elder, who had ſucceeded

to

to the county of Boulogne, and Baldwin, a character of more ambiguous virtue. The nobles of France, Germany, and Lorraine, marched under the banner of Godfrey, and their confederate force was compoſed of fourſcore thouſand foot, and about ten thouſand horſe. II. The French, the Normans, and the pilgrims of the Britiſh iſles followed the ſtandard of Hugh count of Vermandois, the brother of the king of France; of Robert duke of Normandy, the eldeſt ſon of William the Conqueror, but who was deprived of the kingdom of England by the activity of his brother Rufus; of Robert court of Flanders, ſurnamed the ſword and lance of the Chriſtians; and of Stephen, count of Chartres, of Blois, and of Troyes, and one of the richeſt princes of his age. III. In the ſouth of France, the command was aſſumed by Adhemar, biſhop of Puy, a venerable prelate, and the pope's legate, and Raymond count of St. Giles and Thouloufe, a veteran warrior, who added the prouder titles of duke of Narbonne and marquis of Provence; yet the eminent qualities of this chief were clouded by a temper, haughty, envious, and obſtinate, and it was eaſier for him to extort the praiſe of the infidels, than to preſerve the love of his aſſociates. IV. Bohemond, the ſon of Robert Guiſcard, was already famous by his double victory over the Greek emperor. His father's will reduced him to the principality of Tarentum; and of all the leaders he alone was actuated by the motives of ſound policy. Several princes of the Norman race accompanied this veteran general; and his

his couſin Tancred was conſpicuous for all the virtues and accompliſhments which formed a perfect knight.

The ceremony of knighthood was in its origin ſimple and profane, and ſome traces of it may be found in Tacitus, and the woods of Germany. The candidate, after a previous trial, was inveſted with his ſword and ſpurs; and his cheek or ſhoulder were touched with a ſlight blow, as an emblem of the laſt affront, which it was lawful for him to endure; in the holy wars the order of chivalry was aſſimilated in its rights and privileges to the ſacred orders of prieſthood. The ſword of the novice was offered on the altar, and bleſſed by the miniſters of religion; and he was created a knight in the name of God, of St. George, and of St. Michael the archangel. As the champion of God and the ladies, he devoted himſelf to ſpeak the truth, to protect the diſtreſſed, to practiſe courteſy, to purſue the infidels; and to vindicate in every perilous adventure the honour of his character. The lance was the proper and peculiar weapon of the knight; his horſe was of a large and heavy breed; his armour was leſs ponderous than in later times; and his breaſt was defended by a coat of mail. When their long lances were fixed in the reſt, the warriors furiouſly ſpurred their horſes againſt the foe; and the light cavalry of the Turks and Arabs could ſeldom ſtand againſt the direct and impetuous weight of their charge. Each knight was attended to the field by his faithful ſquire, a youth of equal birth and ſimilar hopes; he was followed

lowed by his archers and men at arms, and four, or five, or ſix ſoldiers, were computed as the furniture of a complete *lance*.

The difficulty of procuring ſubſiſtence for the myriads of men and horſes, engaged the princes to ſeparate their forces, and to appoint the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople as their place of rendezvous. Within nine months from the feaſt of the aſſumption, the day appointed by Urban, all the Latin princes had reached that city; [A. D. 1097.] but the count of Vermandois was produced as a captive; his foremoſt veſſels were ſcattered by a tempeſt; and his perſon, againſt the law of nations, was detained by the lieutenants of Alexius.

The emperor, who had ſolicited a moderate ſuccour, beheld with aſtoniſhment the approach of ſo many potent chiefs and fanatic nations. He was equally alarmed by his knowledge of the ambitious Bohemond, and his ignorance of the Tranſalpine princes. They might be tempted by the luxury and wealth of Greece, and Jeruſalem might be forgotten in the proſpect of Conſtantinople. An incurable jealouſy prevailed in the minds of the ſtrangers and the natives, who regarded each other as Barbarians and ſlaves; Alexius is accuſed of a deſign to ſtarve or aſſault the Latins in a dangerous poſt, on all ſides encompaſſed with the waters. Godfrey ſounded his trumpets, overſpread the plain, and aſſaulted the ſuburbs: after a doubtful conflict, both parties liſtened to the voice of reaſon and religion. The gifts and promiſes of the emperor inſenſibly ſoothed the fierce ſpirit of the weſt-

ern warriors; and they were persuaded to pass the Bosphorus and occupy a pleasant and plentiful camp in Asia.

But it was a work of greater skill and labour to reconcile the French princes to the oath of homage and fidelity; and to extort a promise that they would either restore or hold their Asiatic conquests as the humble and loyal vassals of the Roman empire; their independent spirit was fired at the mention of this foreign and voluntary servitude; and they yielded with reluctance to the dexterous application of gifts and flattery. The best and most ostensible reason for this submission, was the impossibility of accomplishing their vow without the licence and the vessels of Alexius; but they cherished a secret hope, that as soon as they trod the continent of Asia, their swords would obliterate their shame, and dissolve the engagement, which on his side might not be very faithfully performed. The ceremony of their homage was grateful to a people who had long since considered pride as the substitute of power; high on his throne the emperor sate mute and immoveable, while his majesty was adored by the Latin princes; an indignity which their own writers are ashamed to confess, and unable to deny.

If we credit the account of a chaplain of count Baldwin, the pilgrims able to bear arms amounted to six hundred thousand; but from more authentic materials we can assert, that the cavalry of the crusaders, when the knights and their martial attendants on horseback were mustered in the plains of Bithynia, consisted

ſiſted of one hundred thouſand fighting men completely armed. From their firſt ſtation in the neighbourhood of Nicomedia, they advanced in ſucceſſive diviſions, and commenced their pious warfare againſt the ſultan by the ſiege of his capital. Soliman, the ſon of the firſt conqueror of that name, intercepted by his kingdom of Roum, which extended from the Helleſpont to the confines of Syria, the pilgrimage of Jeruſalem; and in defence of a land which the Turks conſidered as their own, he deſerved the praiſe of his enemies, by whom alone he is known to poſterity. Twice he aſſaulted from the neighbouring mountains the camp of the beſiegers; but Nice was preſſed by land and water; [A. D. 1097. June 20.] a Greek emiſſary perſuaded the inhabitants to accept his maſter's protection; and the imperial banner ſtreaming from the citadel preſerved to Alexius, amidſt the murmurs of his allies, this important conqueſt.

The victorious confederates directed their march towards Phrygia; and Soliman, more provoked than diſmayed by the loſs of his capital, with the united force of the Turkman hords attacked, or rather ſurpriſed, the Chriſtian army near Dorylæum. [A. D. 1097. July 4.] The cruſaders were at firſt oppreſſed by the clouds of arrows, the heat of the weather, and the barbarous onſet; but the perſevering valour of Godfrey reſtored the battle, and the light troops of Soliman, after an obſtinate conflict, were forced to yield to the ſuperior ſtrength of their antagoniſts. The ſultan with the relics of his army evacuated Roum, and haſtened to implore the aid of his eaſtern friends;

the cruſaders purſued their triumphant march through the Leſſer Aſia; climbed with toil and danger the ſteep and ſlippery ſides of mount Taurus; and Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, with a ſelect detachment, advanced to the gates of Syria, accepted the invitation of a Greek tyrant, [A. D. 1097.] became his ſon-in-law, inflamed the people of Edeſſa to the maſſacre of his father and their ſovereign, and eſtabliſhed in that city the firſt principality of the Franks and Latins, which ſubſiſted fifty four years, beyond the Euphrates.

A. D. 1097. Oct. 21.] The ſiege of Antioch was formed by the ardour of the Chriſtians, whoſe zeal defied the inclemency of the approaching winter. For ſeven months the lofty walls and intrepid garriſon baffled the vain efforts of the beſiegers. Famine, deſertion, and fatigue, pervaded their camp, and Antioch might have mocked the raſh enterpriſe of the daring Franks, had not the ambitious Bohemond employed the arms of cunning and deceit. His correſpondence with a Syrian renegado introduced the Norman princes: [A. D. 1098. June 3.] and the ſervice of the ſon of Guiſcard was rewarded with the ſovereignty of the city. But the citadel yet held out; the victors themſelves were encompaſſed and beſieged by the hoſt of Kerboga, prince of Moſul; and the proud lieutenant of the caliph and the ſultan, left them only the choice of ſervitude or death. The Franks had conſumed with thoughtleſs prodigality their ſcanty ſtores; their numbers were thinned by want and diſeaſe; the count of Vermandois had already returned to France; the emperor Alexius, who ſeemed to advance to their relief,

was

was diſmayed by the aſſurance of their hopeleſs condition; and the remnant of the cruſaders ſpent twenty-five days on the verge of deſtruction.

For their ſalvation and victory, they were indebted to the ſame enthuſiaſm which had led them to the brink of ruin; and the confidence of the deſponding ſoldiers was revived by the ſeaſonable diſcovery of the HOLY LANCE. A prieſt, named Peter Bartholemy, aſſerted, that St. Andrew, in a viſion, had revealed to him that the ſteel head of the lance which had pierced our Saviour's ſide, was concealed near the high altar in the church of St. Peter; and that the apoſtle added, "bear it aloft in battle, and the myſtic weapon ſhall "penetrate the ſouls of the miſcreants." The revelation was eagerly accepted by count Raymond, who was named by the prieſt as the guardian of this holy weapon; the ground was opened in the appointed place; Bartholemy deſcended into the pit, and produced the head of a Saracen lance. The firſt gleam of the ſteel was received with a devout rapture; and the troops were again inflamed with the enthuſiaſm of valour. Whatever might be the ſentiments of the chiefs, they ſkilfully improved the deciſive opportunity. The gates were thrown open; [A. D. 1098. June 28.] they ſallied from the town, and diſperſed, on that memorable day, the hoſt of Turks and Arabians, which they might ſafely report to have conſiſted of ſix hundred thouſand men.

The fortune of the Franks had delayed their invaſion till the decline of the Turkiſh empire. The inheritance of Malek Shah was diſputed by his four ſons; and

the Turkiſh veterans were conſumed in the civil wars beyond the Tigris. The caliph of Egypt had recovered from the children of Ortok, Jeruſalem and Tyre, and reſtored in Paleſtine the authority of the Fatimites. He heard with aſtoniſhment the victories of the Chriſtians; and offered the pilgrims, if they would lay aſide their arms, a hoſpitable reception at the ſepulchre of Jeſus. The propoſals of Moſtali were rejected by the intrepid cruſaders; yet diſeaſe had reduced the Latins to forty thouſand, of whom no more than fifteen hundred horſe, and twenty thouſand foot, were capable of ſervice. Theſe continued their march between Mount Libanus and the ſea-ſhore; advanced from Cæſarea into the midland country; and as ſoon as they deſcried the holy city, forgot their toils and claimed their reward.

A. D. 1099. June 7.] Jeruſalem had derived ſome reputation from the number and importance of her memorable ſieges; but her former bulwarks had been diminiſhed, and were imperfectly reſtored; and the valour of the cruſaders was not damped by a garriſon of forty thouſand Moſlems. After having patiently ſuſtained the preſſure of hunger and thirſt, the Chriſtians were at length triumphant; on a Friday, at three in the afternoon, Godfrey of Bouillon ſtood victorious on the walls of Jeruſalem. [A. D. 1099. July 15.] His example was followed on every ſide by the emulation of his companions; and about four hundred and ſixty years after the conqueſt of Omar, the holy city was reſcued from the Mahometan yoke. The garriſon and inhabitants were for three days abandoned to a promiſcuous

promiſcuous maſſacre, and the Chriſtians were fatigued rather than ſatiated, by the ſlaughter of ſeventy thouſand Moſlems.

After the victors had accompliſhed their vow, and bedewed with tears of joy and penitence the monument of their redemption, they proceeded to the election of a king, to guard and govern their conqueſts in Paleſtine. Hugh count of Vermandois, and Stephen of Chartres, had retired with ſome loſs of reputation, which they ſtrove to regain by a ſecond cruſade and an honourable death; Baldwin was eſtabliſhed at Edeſſa, and Bohemond at Antioch; and the duke of Normandy and count of Flanders preferred their inheritance in the Weſt to a doubtful ſceptre in the Eaſt.—The jealouſy of Raymond was condemned by his own followers, and the free voice of the army proclaimed Godfrey the moſt worthy of the champions of Chriſtendom. His magnanimity accepted a truſt as full of danger as it was of glory; but the devout pilgrim refuſed the name and enſigns of royalty, and contented himſelf with the modeſt title of defender and baron of the holy ſepulchre. In the firſt fortnight his government was interrupted by a ſummons to the field; [A. D. 1099. Aug. 12.] and the overthrow of the ſultan of Egypt, in the battle of Aſcalon, ſealed the eſtabliſhment of the Latins in Syria, and ſignalized the valour of the French princes, who in this action bade a long farewel to holy wars. Godfrey embraced his departing companions, and could only retain with the gallant Tancred three hundred knights, and two thouſand foot ſoldiers, for the defence of Paleſtine. A new enemy ſoon at-

tacked his ſovereignty; Adhemar, biſhop of Puy, was no more; and Daimbert, archbiſhop of Piſa, arrived in the holy land, and was inſtalled the ſpiritual and temporal head of the church. Godfrey was unequal to a conteſt with ſpiritual arms; and the archbiſhop's claim of dominion was compromiſed by the ceſſion to the church of a quarter in Jeruſalem and in Jaffa, with the reverſion of the reſt on the death of Godfrey without children, or on the future acquiſition of a new ſeat at Cairo or Damaſcus.

The arms of the kings of Jeruſalem ſucceſſively extended their territories till they might rival in compaſs thoſe of the ancient princes of Judah and Iſrael. In the reduction of the maritime cities of Laodicea, Tripoli, Tyre, and Aſcalon, the fleets of Venice, Genoa, and Piſa, rendered effectual ſervice; and the range of ſea coaſt, from Scanderoon to the borders of Egypt, was poſſeſſed by the Chriſtian pilgrims. The prince of Antioch aſſerted his independency; but the counts of Edeſſa and Tripoli acknowledged themſelves the vaſſals of the king of Jeruſalem; the four cities of Hems, Hamah, Damaſcus, and Aleppo, were the only relics of the Mahometan conqueſts in Syria; and the laws and language, the manners and titles, of the French nation and the Latin church, were introduced into theſe tranſ-marine colonies. Yet the kingdom was continually expoſed to the attacks of the ſurrounding Turks and Saracens, and the national militia amounted but to eleven thouſand men to reſiſt the enterpriſes of ſo many myriads of Moſlems. But the holy land principally confided in the valour of the knights of the hoſpital of

St.

St. John, and of the temple of Solomon. Theſe united the different duties of a military and monaſtic life, and while they devoted themſelves to the celibacy of the cloiſter, were ready to encounter the dangers, and partake the hardſhips, of the field. The donation of twenty-eight thouſand farms or manors enabled them to ſupport a regular force of cavalry and infantry; and the inſtitution ſtill maintains its priſtine reputation for courage, and poſſeſſed of the rock of Malta, defies the united force and repeated efforts of that power which has triumphed over Conſtantinople.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XLIII.

PRESERVATION OF THE GREEK EMPIRE—SECOND AND THIRD CRUSADES—REIGN OF SALADIN IN EGYPT AND SYRIA—HIS CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM—RICHARD THE FIRST OF ENGLAND—FOURTH AND FIFTH CRUSADES—THE EMPEROR FREDERIC THE SECOND—LOUIS THE NINTH OF FRANCE; AND THE TWO LAST CRUSADES—EXPULSION OF THE LATINS OR FRANKS, BY THE MAMALUKES.

THE policy of the emperor Alexius Comnenus enabled him to reap the harveſt which the valour of the cruſaders had ſown. His vigilance and dexterity early ſecured Nice; and the Turks, menaced by that important ſtation, evacuated the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople; to oppoſe the confederate princes, Soliman had drained his garriſons on the ſea-coaſt; and the imperial banner was ſoon diſplayed from the iſles of Rhodes and Chios; the cities of Epheſus and Smyrna, of Sardes, Philadelphia, and Laodicea; and from the Helleſpont to the banks of the Mæander, and the rocky ſhores of Pamphylia, the authority of the emperor was once more reſtored. The murmurs of the Latins loudly accuſed the conduct and ſincerity of Comnenus; they had ſworn fidelity and obedience to his throne; he had engaged to aſſiſt their enterpriſe with his troops and treaſures; but his baſe deſertion of them diſſolved the obligation; and his arms

arms were employed in reviving or eſtabliſhing his claims over Syria and Cilicia. Bohemond, prince of Antioch, had been ſurpriſed and captured; his ranſom oppreſſed him with a heavy debt, and his Norman followers were inſufficient to repel the ſeparate attacks of the Greeks and Turks. He determined to relinquiſh the defence of Antioch to his faithful kinſman Tancred; and boldly reſumed the former deſigns of his father Guiſcard, of arming the Weſt againſt the Byzantine empire. He privately embarked, and croſſed the hoſtile ſea with ſecrecy and ſucceſs. In France he was received with approbation and applauſe; and his dignity was advanced by his marriage with the king's daughter. The braveſt warriors of the age enliſted under his command. At the head of five thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot, he repaſſed the Adriatic, and laid ſiege to Durazzo; but the ſtrength of that city, the precautions of Alexius, the preſſure of famine, and the inclemency of the ſeaſon, diſcouraged his confederates, and diſappointed his ambitious hopes. A treaty of peace was negociated; and the death of Bohemond delivered the Greeks from an adverſary, daring, indefatigable, and faithleſs. His ſons ſucceeded to the principality of Antioch, and acknowledged the ſupremacy of the Byzantine emperors, who poſſeſſed of the coaſt of Anatolia, the entire circuit from Trebizond to the Syrian gates. The power of the ſultans was ſhaken by ſucceſſive victories; they retired to Iconium, an obſcure and inland town above three hundred miles from Conſtantinople; the princes of the Comnenian line improved their hours of advantage;

tage; and the firſt cruſade deferred the fall of the declining empire.

In the twelfth century, three great and ſeparate expeditions were underken for the relief of the holy land. I. The ſoldiers and pilgrims of Lombardy, France, and Germany, who were calculated at four hundred thouſand, and who marched under the banners of the dukes of Burgundy, Bavaria, and Aquitain; [A. D. 1101.] the majority of theſe was deſtroyed in Anatolia by famine, peſtilence, and the Turkiſh arrows; and the princes only eſcaped with ſome ſquadrons of horſe to accompliſh their lamentable pilgrimage. II. The ſecond cruſade was undertaken by the emperor of Germany and the French king, Conrad the Third, and Louis the Seventh. The nobles were animated by the preſence of their ſovereigns; [A. D. 1147.] ſeventy thouſand knights, with their immediate attendants, ſwelled the cavalry to four hundred thouſand; and if to theſe are added the infantry and the monks, the women and the children, the aggregate number muſt exceed belief, and will almoſt defy computation; yet this force, which threatened the extinction of the Moſlems, ſerved only to expoſe the inceſſant misfortunes of an holy war. The Germans were urged by emulation, the French were retarded by jealouſy; and Louis ſcarce had paſſed the Boſphorus, when he met the vanquiſhed emperor returning, with the remnant of his army, from a glorious, but unſucceſsful action, on the banks of the Mæander. The fate of the French monarch was almoſt ſimilar. He was ſurpriſed and ſurrounded by the Turks, as he purſued

ſued his march with inconſiderate raſhneſs. With difficulty Louis eſcaped from the fatal arrows of his enemies; and after ſheltering the relics of his hoſt in the friendly port of Satalia, he embarked for Antioch; and with Conrad joined the Chriſtian powers of Syria in the fruitleſs ſiege of Damaſcus. Baffled in this final effort, the two monarchs were content to embark for Europe, and their ſole acquiſition was the perſonal fame of piety and courage.

III. The grand diviſion of the third cruſade was led by the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa; the French and Engliſh, who embarked in this expedition, preferred the navigation of the Mediterranean; yet Frederic muſtered in the plains of Hungary fifteen thouſand knights and as many ſquires; [A. D. 1189.] and ſixty thouſand horſe were followed by one hundred thouſand foot. The veteran genius of the chief imparted confidence to his companions and ſoldiers; and the Turks were awed by the fame of a prince, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in forty campaigns: yet famine and diſeaſe purſued the fainting ſteps of the Chriſtians through the barren and inhoſpitable Deſert; and when they reached the gates of Iconium, no more than one thouſand knights were able to ſerve on horſeback. By a reſolute aſſault they ſtormed the capital of the ſultan, who ſued in vain for pardon and peace; but as the victorious emperor advanced into Cilicia, he was unfortunately drowned in the petty ſtream of Calycadnus. The remainder of his Germans was conſumed by ſickneſs and deſertion; and the empe-

ror's

ror's ſon, with the greateſt part of his Swabian vaſſals, expired at the ſiege of Acre.

That ſucceſſive generations ſhould thus have ruſhed headlong down the precipice before them, may excite our pity and admiration; but it was with terror and hatred that the effeminate Greeks beheld the numbers and characters of the ſtrangers. The apprehenſion of the Turkiſh power, for ſome time, ſuſpended their averſion; but when the ſultan was driven to the diſtant retreat of Iconium, the Byzantine princes more freely expreſſed their indignation at the frequent paſſage of the weſtern Barbarians, who violated the majeſty, and endangered the ſafety, of the empire. Manuel Comnenus, whoſe paſſions were impetuous, and often malevolent, and Iſaac Angelus, whoſe temper was naturally timid, and deliberately miſchievous, ſucceſſively conſpired to deſtroy, or at leaſt to diſcourage, the pilgrims, by every ſpecies of injury and oppreſſion. The gates of the cities, both in Europe and Aſia, were cloſely barred againſt the cruſaders; and the ſcanty pittance of food was let down in baſkets from the walls; the paſſes were fortified, and the bridges broken down againſt them; the ſtragglers were pillaged and murdered; the ſick were burnt in their beds; and the dead bodies were hung on gibbets along the highways. Theſe injuries exaſperated the champions of the croſs; and they were ſtill further provoked by the pride of the Byzantine court, and the arrogant claims of pre-eminence. The ſeat of Lewis had been a low ſtool beſide the throne of the emperor Manuel; but as ſoon as the French king had tranſ-

tranſported his army beyond the Boſphorus, he declined any conference with the ſucceſſor of Conſtantine, but on equal terms. Conrad and Frederic claimed, equally with the Greek, the title of emperor; the firſt would only converſe with Manuel in the open field on horſeback; the laſt, by paſſing the Helleſpont, avoided both the city and ſovereign of Conſtantinople. While the Greek emperors regarded with hatred and ſuſpicion the Latin pilgrims, they maintained a ſtrict, though ſecret, alliance with the Turks and Saracens. In the reign of Iſaac Angelus, a moſch was founded at Conſtantinople; and in leſs than three centuries, from the firſt toleration of it, the religion of Mahomet was eſtabliſhed in the city of Conſtantine by the triumphant ſword of the Moſlems.

The Syrian fugitives had diffuſed their conſternation and ſorrow for the loſs of Jeruſalem, throughout the remaining provinces of the faithful; but the caliphs could only lament over their waining empire; and the humble ambition of the Abbaſſides was confined in their laſt age to Bagdad and the adjacent provinces; their maſters, the Seljukian ſultans felt, and diſplayed, the rapid progreſs of decay; and the influence of Mahomet, and the doctrines of the koran, were eſpouſed and defended by their ſlaves the Atabeks. In the civil wars, which enſued on the death of Malek Shah, Alcanſar, a valiant Turk, and his favourite, had loſt his head and the government of Aleppo. His domeſtic emirs perſevered in their attachment to his ſon Zenghi, who firſt diſplayed his valour at Antioch, and attained a military fame that pro-

promoted him to the command of Moſul. The favourable opinion entertained of his abilities was juſtified by his ſucceſs. He ſtormed the city of Edeſſa, recovered from the Franks their conqueſts beyond the Euphrates, and ſubdued the martial tribes of Curdiſtan; [A. D. 1127—1145.] his ſoldiers were taught to behold the camp as their only country; they confided in his liberality for their rewards, and truſted their abſent families to his protection. His ſon Nourreddin gradually united the Mahometan powers; added the kingdom of Damaſcus to that of Aleppo; obtained from the Abbaſſides the titles and prerogatives of royalty; [A. D. 1145—1174.] and ſpread his ample reign from the Tigris to the Nile. The Chriſtians themſelves acknowledge him wiſe, brave, juſt, and pious; frugal in his own houſehold, and ſcrupulous in the adminiſtration of the public revenue. His favourite ſultana ſighed for ſome female object of expence. "Alas," replied Noureddin, "I fear God, "and am no more than the treaſurer of the Moſlems. "Their property I cannot alienate; but I ſtill poſſeſs "three ſhops in the city of Hems; theſe you may "take; and theſe alone can I beſtow." Some years after the ſultan's death, an oppreſſed ſubject exclaimed in the ſtreets of Damaſcus, "O Noureddin, Nou-"reddin, where art thou now? Ariſe, ariſe, to pity "and protect us!"

The Fatimites had been deprived of Syria by the arms of the Turks; in Egypt they were oppreſſed and enſlaved by their own miniſters; the diſſenſions of theſe invited the oppoſite invaſions of Amauriy, the king

king of Jeruſalem, and of Noureddin, the ſovereign of Damaſcus. Amauriy was compelled to retreat before Shiracouh, the lieutenant of his ſucceſsful competitor; the victorious Noureddin reſtored the holy names of Abubeker, Omar, and Othman; [A. D. 1171.] and aſſerted the authority of the caliph Moſthadi, of Bagdad; the ſeaſonable death of the caliph Adhed extinguiſhed the race of the Fatimites; the Abbaſſides were generally acknowledged; and in every revolution Egypt has ſince adhered to the orthodox tradition of the Moſlems.

The hilly country beyond the Tigris is occupied by the paſtoral tribes of the Curds, whoſe name, ſituation, and manners, ſeem to mark them as the Carduchians of the Greeks; and they ſtill defend, againſt the Ottoman Porte, the freedom which they maintained againſt the ſucceſſors of Cyrus. Saladin was a native of this country, and the ſon of Ayoub. He was conſtrained by Noureddin to follow into Egypt his uncle Shiracouh, and diſplayed his valour in the defence of Alexandria. On the death of Shiracouh he obtained the office of grand vizir, and his genius was formed by the artful leſſons of his father, the politic Ayoub. He attached the army to his perſon and intereſt; obtained an aſcendant over his equals; and when Noureddin expired, ſupplanted the ſon of that prince, then only eleven years of age, and prevailed on the caliph of Bagdad to ſanction, by his authority, his uſurpation of Egypt. [A. D. 1174.] The ambition of Saladin ſoon extended beyond the limits of his new kingdom. Syria and Arabia acknowledged his power, and claim-

ed his protection; Jeruſalem was ſubdued by his arms; and before his death, his empire was ſpread from the African Tripoli to the Tigris, and from the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia. The frequent revolutions of Aſia may in ſome meaſure excuſe the ſteps by which he firſt aſcended his throne; and his reverence to the ſon of Noureddin atteſts his humanity and generoſity. Chaſte, ſober, and religious, he was abſtemious in his diet, and modeſt in his apparel; acceſſible to his ſubjects, affable to his ſervants, and liberal to his dependants. Even his Chriſtian enemies tevered the virtues of the *great* Saladin; his fame was diffuſed throughout the Eaſt and Weſt; the Greek emperor ſolicited his alliance, and the emperor of Germany gloried in his friendſhip.

Baldwin the Fourth, the ſon of Amauriy, was the legitimate ſucceſſor to the throne of Jeruſalem; but that prince was unfortunately deprived, by a leproſy, of the faculties both of mind and body. His ſiſter Sybilla, the mother of Baldwin the Fifth, was his natural heireſs; after the ſuſpicious death of her child, ſhe crowned her ſecond huſband, Guy of Luſignan, a prince of a handſome perſon, but of ſuch baſe renown, that his own brother, Jeffrey, was heard to exclaim, "Since they have made *him* a king, ſurely they would "have made *me* a God!" Raymond, count of Tripoli, the moſt powerful vaſſal, was peculiarly exaſperated by the unworthy preference; his reſentment induced him to ſacrifice his honour, and to liſten to the temptations of the ſultan. The waining ſtate was preſſed by the ſurrounding dominions of Saladin; and the

the avarice of the Franks induced them to violate the treaty, which alone was their protection. Reginald, of Chatillon, from a fortreſs on the edge of the Deſert, pillaged the caravans, and provoked the complaints of Saladin. The remonſtrances of the ſultan were diſregarded, and at the head of fourſcore thouſand horſe and foot, he formed the ſiege of Tiberias. Luſignan drained his garriſons, and advanced to the relief of that important place; he was betrayed into a camp deſtitute of water, by the treachery of Raymond, who fled at the firſt onſet; [A. D. 1187. July 3.] thirty thouſand of the Chriſtians were ſlaughtered; and Luſignan was conducted a captive into the tent of Saladin. The thirſt of the vanquiſhed monarch was relieved by a cup of ſherbet; but this pledge of hoſpitality and pardon was denied to Chatillon. "The "perſon of a king," ſaid the ſultan, "is ſacred; "but this impious robber muſt inſtantly acknowledge "the prophet, whom he has blaſphemed, or meet the "death which he has ſo often deſerved." On the refuſal of the Chriſtian warrior, Saladin ſtruck him on the head with his ſcymetar, and Chatillon was diſpatched by the guards. Luſignan was ſent to Damaſcus, and ſoon ranſomed; but the execution of two hundred and thirty knights of the hoſpital, ſtained the victory of Saladin, who appeared, within three months after the battle of Tiberias, at the gates of Jeruſalem.

The Greek and Oriental Chriſtians compoſed the moſt numerous portion of the inhabitants of the holy city; theſe preferred the Mahometan to the Latin

yoke. The barons and knights were divided into factions; and queen Sybilla trembled for her own, and her huſband's ſafety. In the ſpace of fourteen days, a breach was made of fifteen cubits, and on the breach were planted twelve ſtandards of the ſultan and the prophet. The ſuppliant cries of the beſieged implored the mercy of the conqueror; "he had ſworn to "avenge the patience and long-ſuffering of the Moſ-"lems; the hour of forgiveneſs was elapſed, and the "moment was now arrived to expiate in blood, the "innocent blood which had been ſpilt by Godfrey, "and the firſt cruſaders:" but what he had denied to their intreaties, he granted to their deſpair; and he was admoniſhed, by a ſucceſsful ſtruggle of the Franks, that his conqueſt was not yet certain. He conſented to accept the city, and ſpare the inhabitants; the Franks and Latins were to evacuate Jeruſalem, and to be ſafely conducted to the ſea-ports of Syria and Egypt. A certain ranſom was to be paid for every perſon; but the Greek and Oriental Chriſtians were permitted to live under his government.

The victorious career of Soliman was checked by the reſiſtance of Tyre; the different garriſons and troops which had capitulated, were all conducted to that port; and the arrival of Conrad, of Montferrat, gave order and union to the promiſcuous crowd. The ſiege of Tyre was already commenced, when that chief was hailed by the inhabitants as their prince and champion. His father was a priſoner in the hands of Saladin; in vain did the ſultan aſſail Conrad with his arms; in vain did he menace him with the inſtant death

death of his aged parent; his valour repelled the attacks of the Moſlems; and the firmneſs of his zeal withſtood the ſuggeſtions of filial affection. After the loſs of five of his gallies, and the braveſt of his ſoldiers, the great Saladin deſtroyed his engines, and retreated to Damaſcus.

But the diſtreſs and danger of the holy land had once more rouſed the pity and martial enthuſiaſm of Europe. The emperor, Frederic Barbaroſſa, and the kings of France and England aſſumed the croſs. The armaments of theſe were preceded by a hoſt of adventurers from Genoa, Piſa, and Venice; from Flanders, Friſe, and Denmark; from Normandy and the weſtern iſles. Their increaſing numbers burſt from the walls of Tyre; and formed, by the advice of Luſignan, who was now releaſed from priſon, the ſiege of Ptolemais, or Acre, thirty miles to the ſouth of Tyre. [A. D. 1189.] Near two years was this memorable ſiege continued; in nine actions Saladin endeavoured the relief of his faithful brethren; the camp of the beſieger was thinned by famine, the ſword and the climate, and deſpondency began to prevail, when in the ſpring of the ſecond year, the royal fleets of France and England, for Barbaroſſa was no more, caſt anchor in the bay of Acre. The youthful emulation of the two kings, Philip and Richard, ſurmounted every obſtacle; the defenders of Acre ſubmitted to their fate; ſome doubts or delay in the capitulation, rekindled the fury of the Franks; [A. D. 1191.] and three thouſand Moſlems, almoſt in the ſultan's view, were beheaded by the command of Richard. In the ſiege of

Acre, one hundred thouſand Chriſtians had fallen; a greater number had periſhed by diſeaſe; and the Latins dearly purchaſed the poſſeſſion of a ſtrong town and a convenient harbour.

The ſurrender of Acre was immediately followed by the departure of Philip king of France, who left the duke of Burgundy with five hundred knights, and ten thouſand foot, for the ſervice of the holy land; but the zeal of Richard of England, ſurnamed Cœur de Lion, was more lively and more permanent. His valour was atteſted by the proverbial ſayings of the grandſons of the Turks and Saracens, againſt whom he fought; his tremendous name was employed by the Syrian mothers to ſilence their infants; and if a horſe ſuddenly ſtarted from his way, his rider was wont to exclaim, "Doſt thou think king Richard is in that buſh!" From Acre the martial Richard led the cruſaders to the recovery of the ſea coaſt; the cities of Cæſarea and Jaffa were ſubdued; a march of one hundred miles, from Acre to Aſcalon, was a perpetual battle of eleven days; and the walls of the laſt place were deſtroyed by Saladin, to prevent the Chriſtians from occupying an important fortreſs on the confines of Egypt.

A. D. 1192.] In the enſuing ſpring, the Franks advanced within a day's march, and threatened the ſecurity of Jeruſalem; but the apprehenſions of the Moſlems were diſpelled, and the laurels of Richard blaſted, by the unexpected retreat of the Chriſtians. The prudence or envy of his companions compelled the reluctant monarch to retire; aſcending a hill, the hero veiled

veiled his face, and exclaimed with an indignant voice, "Thoſe who are unwilling to reſcue, are unworthy "to view, the ſepulchre of Chriſt." He had ſcarce returned to Acre before he was informed that Jaffa was ſurpriſed by Saladin; he ſailed in ſome merchant veſſels, landed firſt on the beach, and by his preſence relieved the caſtle, and routed ſixty thouſand Turks and Saracens.

A tedious negociation between Richard and Saladin, which during their hoſtilities had been often broken off, and as often reſumed, was at length cemented into a truce. Jeruſalem and the holy ſepulchre were left open, without tribute or vexation, to the pilgrimage of the Latin Chriſtians; they were eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of the ſea coaſt from Jaffa to Tyre; the count of Tripoli, and the prince of Antioch, was compriſed in the truce, which was limited to three years and three months. [A D. 1193. March 4.] Richard immediately embarked for Europe; and Saladin in a few months ſunk into the grave. The diviſion of his empire, and the contentions between the ſultans of Egypt, Damaſcus, and Aleppo, weakened the power of the Moſlems, and afforded to the Franks and Latins a tranſient repoſe in their fortreſſes along the Syrian coaſt.

By the influence of Pope Innocent the Third, two cruſades, the fourth and fifth, were undertaken after the death of Saladin. [A. D. 1203.] The fourth was diverted from Syria to Conſtantinople, and will ſoon be the object of our conſideration; the fifth was directed againſt Egypt, the great ſource of the wealth

and power of the ſultan; [A.D. 1218.] after a ſiege of ſixteen months, Damietta was taken; but the inſolence of the legate Palagius ruined the Chriſtian army, and a ſafe retreat was inglorioufly purchaſed by the reſtitution of Damietta. [A. D. 1228.] About ten years afterwards, Frederic the Second, the grandſon of Barbaroſſa, aſſumed the croſs, and entered Jeruſalem in triumph. Whilſt he vanquiſhed in the name of Chriſt, he was recalled by an interdict of the church; yet the eſteem of the Mahometans for the abilities of Frederic may be preſumed by an advantageous treaty, which reſtored to the Latins Jeruſalem, Bethlem, Nazareth, Tyre, and Sidon; fifteen years had ſcarce allowed the holy city to regain ſome appearances of her former proſperity, when the ſavage hords of the Carizmians, flying from the arms of the Moguls, rolled headlong on Syria. [A. D. 1243.] Jeruſalem was pillaged, the holy ſepulchre was profaned, and the ravages of the Turks and Saracens were forgotten in the undiſtinguiſhing cruelty of theſe more ferocious invaders.

A ſixth and a ſeventh cruſade were undertaken by Louis the Ninth, king of France. In the ſixth, with nine thouſand five hundred horſe, and one hundred and thirty thouſand foot, he landed near Damietta, which was abandoned on the firſt aſſault by the trembling Moſlems; [A. D. 1249.] but with that city his fond hopes of conqueſt were bounded. A ruinous delay introduced into the camp an epidemical diſeaſe, and with languid ſteps the Franks advanced towards the capital of Egypt. The inconſiderate valour of the count of

Artois precipitated his own deſtruction, and that of the vanguard. Louis, hopeleſs of retreat, and deſtitute of proviſions, was compelled to ſurrender with the greateſt part of his nobles; [A. D. 1250.] and his liberty was purchaſed by again reſtoring Damietta, and by the payment of four hundred thouſand pieces of gold. The ſenſe of former misfortunes was effaced by a repoſe of ſixteen years; and Louis once more aſſumed the croſs, and embarked for Africa with the wild hope of baptiſing the king of Tunis; [A. D. 1270.] but as he preſſed the ſiege of the city, he was attacked by a burning fever, and expired in his tent, and his ſon and ſucceſſor, impatient to poſſeſs the vacant throne, repaſſed the ſea to Europe.

A. D. 1250.] During theſe expeditions a new revolution took place in Egypt, and the Mamalukes, the hardy natives of Tartary, who were purchaſed at a tender age, and educated in the camp and palace of the ſultan, murdered their maſter Touran Shah, the laſt of the race of Saladin, and extended their ſway from Egypt over Nubia, Arabia, and Syria. The Latin principality of Antioch was extinguiſhed; the maritime towns of Laodicea, Tripoli, Sidon, Tyre, and Jaffa, ſucceſſively fell. The Franks were confined to the city of Acre; and about forty years from the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Mamalukes, that city was inveſted by the ſultan Khalil, with ſixty thouſand horſe, and one hundred and forty thouſand foot. The courage of the Franks was rekindled by deſpair, and for thirty-three days they maintained the inceſſant attacks of the

the Moſlems; but the walls were forced on every ſide; ſixty thouſand Chriſtians were devoted to death or ſlavery; and a ſcanty remnant, with the king of Jeruſalem, the patriarch, and the great maſter of the hoſpital, effected their retreat to the ſea ſhore, and eſcaped with difficulty to Cyprus.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XLIV.

SCHISM OF THE GREEKS AND LATINS—STATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE—REVOLT OF THE BULGARIANS—ISAAC ANGELUS DETHRONED BY HIS BROTHER ALEXIUS—ORIGIN OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE—ALLIANCE OF THE FRENCH AND VENETIANS WITH THE SON OF ISAAC—THE TWO SIEGES AND FINAL CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE LATINS.

THE mutual jealouſies which had early prevailed among the Greeks and Latins, were derived from the ſuperior claim of learning in the former; and the martial and independent ſpirit of the latter. Religious controverſy inflamed their animoſity; and while the Greeks aſſerted that the Holy Ghoſt *proceeded* from the Father alone, perhaps *by* the Son, the Latins maintained that he proceeded from the Father and Son. A character of neutrality had been affected by the Roman pontiffs in the origin of the diſpute; they ſeemed deſirous of deterring their followers from the ſuperfluous reſearch; but the orthodoxy of Rome at length obeyed the impulſe of her temporal policy, and the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt from the Son, as well as from the Father, was finally eſtabliſhed.

The emulation of the leading prelates ſtill further tended to ſeparate the old metropolis from the new. Photius, an ambitious layman, the captain of the guards, was promoted to the office of patriarch of Conſtantinople; his abdicated predeceſſor, Ignatius, im-

impeached the regularity of his ordination and rise, and appealed to Nicholas the First, the most aspiring of the Roman pontiffs. The Greek prelate, with the aid of his court, was victorious; and in his turn deposed the successor of St. Peter, and involved the Latin church in the reproach of heresy and schism. Ignatius was restored by Basil the Macedonian, and again deposed by his successor. The intercourse of the two nations was suspended, and their minds were rendered irreconcilable. [A. D. 1054. July 16.] At length the majesty of Rome was awakened by Michael Carularius, a rebel patriarch, who was excommunicated in the heart of Constantinople. The anathema of the pope was deposited by his legates on the altar of St. Sophia; it includes the guilty teachers and their unhappy sectaries. A friendly correspondence was afterwards occasionally renewed; but the Greeks have never recanted their errors; the popes have never repealed their sentence; and from that day may be dated the perpetual schism of the two nations.

In the three first expeditions to the holy land, the Greeks observed or pursued the Latins with jealous caution, or malignant aversion; the pride of the Greek emperor was wounded by the intrusion of foreign and formidable armies, who claimed the right of traversing his dominions, insulted his capital, and plundered his subjects. Religious zeal inflamed those profane causes of national enmity. Schismatic and heretic were the names applied by the Christians of the East to their brethren of the West; and the Greek clergy, in the crusade of Louis the Seventh, washed and purified

fied the altars which had been defiled by the ſacrifice of a French prieſt. Manuel Comnenus had married two wives deſcended from the Franks; in his claims on the empire of the Weſt, he had encountered the arms of that people, and reſpected their valour. His policy induced him to ſolicit the alliance of the pope; and during his reign, and that of his ſon Alexius, the Franks were employed and truſted by the ſovereigns, and inſulted by the people, of Conſtantinople. In the tumult which raiſed Andronicus to the throne, theſe unhappy foreigners were expoſed to the unrelenting cruelty of popular fury; [A. D. 1183.] and the moſt grateful ſight to their perſecutors was the head of a Roman cardinal, the pope's legate, faſtened to the tail of a dog, and dragged through the city. The few who eſcaped expoſed in Europe the wealth and weakneſs, the perfidy and malice of the Greeks. The French and Venetians, by a domeſtic revolution, were invited, and almoſt compelled, to achieve, what the firſt cruſaders had rejected, the conqueſt of the Roman empire of the Eaſt.

The tyranny of Andronicus provoked his deſtruction, and promoted the elevation of Iſaac Angelus, [A. D. 1185.] who was deſcended by the females from the Comnenian dynaſty. The indolence of Iſaac was almoſt as intolerable to his ſubjects as the active vices of his predeceſſor. His luxury ſwelled the annual expence of his table and houſehold to four millions ſterling; and the remains of the Greek empire daily diminiſhed in the unworthy reigns of Iſaac and his brother. The iſland of Cyprus had been

uſurped

uſurped by his nameſake, a Comnenian prince; by the ſword of Richard of England it was transferred to the houſe of Luſignan; and the honour of the monarchy, and the ſafety of the capital, were deeply wounded by the revolt of the Bulgarians and Walachians.

Theſe Barbarians, ſince the victory of the ſecond Baſil had, with the preſervation of their own laws and manners, acknowledged an honourable ſubjection to the Byzantine prince. The luxury of Iſaac invaded their flocks and herds; and his pride refuſed to their warriors, in the military ſervice, an equal rank and pay with the Greeks. The rights of the people were vindicated by Peter and Aſan, two powerful chiefs of the race of the ancient kings. From the banks of the Danube to the hills of Macedonia and Thrace, the country was blaſted by the flames of the invaders. Iſaac Angelus and his brother acquieſced, after ſome faint efforts in their independence; and the ſecond kingdom of Bulgaria was firmly eſtabliſhed by the arms and policy of John, or Joannices; that ſubtle Barbarian profeſſed himſelf the genuine ſon of Rome, and received from the pope the licence of coining money, the royal title, and a Latin patriarch.

Although the Bulgarians in general prayed for the continuance of the diſgraceful reign of Iſaac, yet their chiefs involved the family and nation of the emperor in the ſame contempt. "In all the Greeks," ſaid Aſan to his troops, "the ſame climate, and character, "and education, will be productive of the ſame fruits." "Behold my lance," continued the warrior, "and "the

"the long ſtreamers that float in the wind. They "differ only in colour; they are formed of the ſame "ſilk, and faſhioned by the ſame workman; nor has "the ſtripe that is ſtained with purple, any ſuperior "price or value above its fellows." The throne of Iſaac was at length ſubverted by his ungrateful brother Alexius. [A. D. 1195.] The late emperor was ſeized at Stagyra in Macedonia, conducted to Conſtantinople, deprived of his eyes, and confined in a loneſome tower; his ſon Alexius, in the diſguiſe of a common ſailor, eſcaped to an Italian veſſel, paſſed the Helleſpont, and found a ſecret refuge in the iſle of Sicily. As he traverſed Italy, to accept the kind invitation of his ſiſter Irene, the wife of Philip of Swabia, the king of the Romans, he heard with pleaſure, that the braveſt ſpirits of the Weſt were aſſembled at Venice for the deliverance of the holy land; and from their ſwords he implored and hoped his father's reſtoration.

Thibaut, count of Champagne, and Louis, count of Blois and Chartres, with a crowd of prelates and barons, were perſuaded by the eloquence of Fulk of Neuilly to aſſume the croſs; [A. D. 1198.] but they regarded with terror the toils and dangers of a land expedition, in which ſo many royal armies had already periſhed, and the French barons were deſtitute of ſhips, and ignorant of navigation. The maritime ſtates were alone poſſeſſed of the means of tranſporting the holy warriors; and Jeffery of Villehardouin, with five other deputies from the confederates, proceeded to Venice to ſolicit the aid of that powerful republic.

The

The Venetians had fortified themselves on the invasion of Attila, in the chain of islands which line the Adriatic gulf; the free and indigent multitude gradually coalesced into a republic [illegible] and the first foundations of Venice were laid in the island of Rialto. Their fortune repulsed the attacks of Pepin, the son of Charlemagne; and, jealous of independence, the lands of the republic under the Grecian Cesars, have in every age been clearly distinguished from the kingdom of Italy. The claims of the Byzantine court were secret, feeble, and at length were gradually extinguished by the ambition of Venice, and the weakness of Constantinople.

The industry of the people soon acquired a considerable share in the commerce of Greece and Egypt: a hundred galleys proudly displayed the flag of the new republic; and her mariners emulated the skill of the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Normans. They assisted the Franks in the reduction of the sea-coast of Syria, and their services were rewarded by a share in the sovereignty of Tyre. The primitive government of Venice was a mixture of democracy and monarchy: the degrees checked by the jealousy of the assembly, and reigned with princely pomp and power as long as the was popular; and the wealth and unity of their system was [illegible] and the [illegible] people were [illegible] of [illegible] his

his eyes, retained a ſound underſtanding and a manly ſpirit. The martial pilgrims were to aſſemble at Venice on the feaſt of St. John of the enſuing year; veſſels were to be prepared for four thouſand five hundred knights, their 'ſquires, and their horſes, with the addition of twenty thouſand foot; eighty-five thouſand marks of ſilver were to be paid by the cruſaders before their departure: and all conqueſts, by ſea and land, were to be equally divided between the confederates. The terms were agreed to; the treaty was tranſcribed on parchment; accepted by the repreſentatives of France and Venice; and diſpatched to Rome for the approbation of pope Innocent the Third.

But unforeſeen difficulties ſtill occurred in the execution of the treaty. Thibaut, count of Champagne, had been unanimouſly choſen general of the confederates; but the health of that valiant youth daily declined, and on his death not a prince of France could be found both able and willing to aſſume the conduct of the enterpriſe. The Franks turned their eyes on a ſtranger, Boniface count of Montferrat, illuſtrious by his deſcent from a race of heroes, and conſpicuous for his own valour and policy; the Italian prince accepted the honourable invitation; and the martial pilgrims aſſembled at Venice; but their zeal had already exceeded their ſtrength, and thirty-four thouſand marks were ſtill wanting to complete their treaty with the Venetians. In this difficulty the doge propoſed to the barons, that if they would join the arms of the republic in reducing ſome revolted cities of Dalmatia,

he would expose his person in the holy war, and obtain from the republic an indulgence till some wealthy conquest should enable them to satisfy the debt. The crusaders consented with reluctance, and the venerable veteran assumed the cross at above ninety years of age. [A. D. 1202. Oct. 8.] The first efforts of the fleet and army were directed against Zara, which had renounced the allegiance of Venice, and implored the protection of the king of Hungary; after a defence of five days, the inhabitants surrendered, their lives were spared, but their houses were pillaged, and their walls demolished. [A. D 1202 Nov. 10.] The advanced season compelled the confederates to establish their winter quarters in the neighbourhood of Zara; but the conquest of that city disturbed their repose; the king of Hungary and his new subjects were themselves enlisted under the banners of the cross; the cruisaders had plundered and massacred their brethren, and the thunders of the vatican admonished them of their guilt. The submissive penitents of France might obtain absolution, but the stubborn Venetians refused to accept their pardon, and defied the spiritual arms of innocent.

The hopes of young Alexius were revived by the assembly of these formidable powers; his cause was strongly recommeded by the marquis of Montferrat, and the doge of Venice; he promised in his own and father's name, that as soon as they were seated on the throne of Constantinople, they would submit themselves and their people to the Roman church; that he would recompense the crusaders with two hundred

thou-

thouſand marks of ſilver, and either accompany them in perſon to Egypt, or maintain during a year ten thouſand men, and during his life, five hundred knights, for the ſervice of the holy land. Theſe conditions were accepted by the republic of Venice; and the eloquence of Dandolo and Boniface perſuaded the counts of Flanders, Blois, and St. Pol, with eight barons of France, to join in the glorious enterpriſe; but many pilgrims, the moſt diſtinguiſhed for their valour and their piety, withdrew from the camp, and refuſed to imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-chriſtians.

The Venetians, undiſmayed by this defection, preſſed the departure of the fleet and army: the adventurers, whoſe numbers might amount to forty thouſand, with a favourable wind, firſt touched at Durazzo; a ſhort repoſe in the iſle of Corfu recruited their ſtrength; and, after receiving the ſubmiſſion of Negropont and Andros, they purſued their voyage through the Helleſpont, and caſt anchor before Chalcedon. On the third day the fleet and army moved towards Scutari, the Aſiatic ſuburb of Conſtantinople; a detachment of five hundred Greek cavalry fled before fourſcore knights, and the fatigues of their voyage were forgotten in the golden proſpect of the city of Conſtantine.

Alexius had deſpiſed the firſt rumour of his nephew's alliance with the French and Venetians; he had neglected to oppoſe them with a fleet in the Adriatic, or to ſtop them in the mouth of the Helleſpont. He beheld with diſſembled terror their camp pitched in

the sight of the palace; and his ambassadors denounced the daring adventurers with the imperial resentment, should they presume to profane the sanctuary of the empire. The answer of the doge and barons was bold and decisive. "Let the ungrateful usurper "confess his guilt, and implore forgiveness, and we "ourselves will intercede, that he may be permitted "to live in affluence and security; but let him not "insult us by a second message; our reply will be "made in arms in the palace of Constantinople."

The passage of the Bosphorus was an adventure big with peril. [A. D. 1203. July 6.] The stream was broad and rapid; the current might drive down the liquid fire of the Greeks; and the opposite shores were lined with seventy thousand horse and foot. The vanguard was led by the count of Flanders; the main body by his brother Henry, the counts of St. Pol and Blois, and Matthew Montmorency; the reserve was conducted by the marquis of Montferrat. The different divisions passed the Bosphorus, without encountering an enemy or obstacle; and scarce had the gallant knights thrown themselves on shore, before the seventy thousand Greeks vanished from their sight. The tower of Galata, in the suburb of Pera, was stormed by the French; the Venetian fleet broke the chain, and entered the port of Constantinople; and a capital, which contained above four hundred thousand inhabitants, was besieged by twenty thousand Latins.

The usual complaints of hunger and scarcity were soon heard through the camp of the besiegers; and the trembling usurper was supported by his son-in-

law,

law, Theodore Lascaris, who awakened the Greeks, regardless of their country, to the defence of their religion. In ten days incessant labour a breach was made, but the adventurous Latins were repulsed and oppressed by superior numbers. The naval attack of the Venetians had been attended with more success; the vessel of the aged Dandolo first reached the land; and the blind old man, completely armed, was the foremost warrior on shore; the standard of the republic was already fixed on the rampart; when the doge was informed of the distress of his confederates, and recalled his troops to the support of the Latins; he found them encompassed by the squadrons of the Greeks; but the usurper was awed by the appearance of succour; he withdrew his formidable host; and, deserting his wife, his people, and his fortune, he passed the Bosphorus in the night, and landed in an obscure harbour of Thrace. The Greek nobles, as soon as they were apprised of his flight, rallied Isaac from his dungeon to the throne; [A. D. 1203. July 18.] and the Latins, at dawn of day, were surprised by a message from the lawful emperor, who was impatient to embrace his son, and to reward his generous deliverers.

The emperor Isaac ratified the engagements which his son had made with Venice and the pilgrims; and the young Alexis, whose adventures had engaged every heart in his favour, was solemnly crowned with his father, in the dome of St. Sophia. [A. D. 1203. July 19.] It was agreed by both parties, that the reunion of the two churches must be the result of patience

tience and time; but the importunate wants of the crusaders were appeased by the liberality of a large sum; and the suburbs of Galata and Pera were assigned for their quarters, to prevent the mischiefs which might arise from the mixture of two discordant nations. At the price of sixteen hundred pounds of gold the young Alexius persuaded the confederates to defer another year the deliverance of the holy land; and prevailed on the marquis of Montferrat, to lead him with an army round the provinces, while Baldwin, with the pilgrims of France and Flanders, awed by their presence the fickle inhabitants of Constantinople.

The popularity and prosperity of Alexius began even already to decline. While he was received with submission by the most distant regions of the empire, in the capital the Greeks hated him as an apostate, who had renounced the manners and religion of his country. His secret covenant with the Latins was suspected; the people were devoutly attached to their faith and superstition; and every hour resounded with the danger of the church, and the tyranny of the pope. The enthusiasm of the crusaders was scandalized at the toleration of a mosch, and the flames which they kindled for the destruction of that building, were the source of a conflagration, which raged for eight days in the thickest and most populous parts of the city. The confederate camp retired from the indignation of the inhabitants to the protection of their standard at Pera. Alexius on his return hesitated between gratitude and resentment; and by his moderate conduct he lost the favour

of

of his allies, without acquiring the confidence of his subjects. The Latin chiefs, regardless of his situation, pressed him with their importunities; and their deputies declared, that unless their just claims were fully and immediately satisfied, they should no longer regard him as a sovereign or a friend: after this defiance they departed with safety from the imperial presence, and their return to the camp was the signal of mutual hostility.

The race of Angeli was despised in the eyes both of the Greeks and Franks; the people of Constantinople encompassed the senate to demand at their hands a more worthy emperor. The author of the tumult was a prince of the house of Ducas; and the name of Alexius was lost in the general epithet of Mourzouse, a word which expressed the close junction of his black and shaggy eye-brows. While he opposed the Latins, and inflamed the passions of the Greeks, he still retained the confidence of the emperor, to whose person his office of great chamberlain gave him easy access. Alexius was deluded into a dungeon by his faithless minister; [A. D. 1204. Feb. 8.] the insults which he suffered during several days, were terminated by a cruel death, in the presence of the tyrant; Isaac Angelus soon followed his unfortunate son to the grave; and his age, perhaps, rendered it unnecessary for Mourzouse to hasten his dissolution.

On the death of the two emperors, the French and Venetians forgot their complaints against Alexius, and threw their revenge against the perfidious Mourzouse and his accomplices: yet the prudent doge was still inclined

to repulse; but the policy of Venice could sacrifice the Greek church to the desire of dominion; yet this malignant fallacy did not escape the Venetian sagacity of the barons, more equally skilful in their interests. In their interviews with the chiefs, they completed their preparations for a general assault. Two days the daring crusaders were detained by the advantage of ground, and the superiority of numbers; [A. D. 1204. April.] on the third their valour surmounted every obstacle; the episcopal banners were displayed from the walls; the Greeks deserted their posts and cast away their arms; and the sovereign, helpless and abandoned, escaped out of the golden gate.

Constantinople had been taken by storm; and the patient of the conquerors were soon restrained by religion and humanity. Two thousand silk vests filling Greeks perished in the first moments of riot; the relics of the passion excited the soldiers to spare the lives of their fellow-christians; a treaty of composition allowed to their avarice, which was gratified even in the holy week, by the pillage of Constantinople. The plunder was delivered into the common stock; a single share was allotted to a foot soldier; two for a sergeant on horseback; four to a knight; and larger proportions, according to the rank and merits of the barons and princes: though it is generally believed that the secret exceeded the acknowledged spoil, yet the magnitude of the prize surpassed experience and expectation; and after the whole had been equally divided between the French and Venetians, fifty thousand

marks

CHAP.

CHAPTER XLV.

PARTITION OF THE EMPIRE BY THE FRENCH AND VENETIANS—FIVE LATIN EMPERORS OF THE HOUSES OF FLANDERS AND COURTENAY—THEIR WARS AGAINST THE BULGARIANS AND GREEKS—RECOVERY OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE GREEKS—ELEVATION AND REIGN OF MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS—REVOLT OF SICILY.

THE French and Venetians agreed to divide the possessions they had acquired by arms; twelve electors, six of each nation, were named to choose the future emperor of the East; to him the titles and prerogatives of the Byzantine throne, with one fourth of the Greek monarchy, were assigned, and it was determined equally to share the three remaining portions between the republic of Venice and the barons of France; that each fendatory, with an honourable exception for the doge, should acknowledge and perform the duties of homage and military service to the supreme head of the empire; that the nation, which gave an emperor, should resign to their brethren the choice of a patriarch; and that the pilgrims should devote another year to the conquest and defence of the Greek provinces. The twelve electors assembled in the chapel of the palace, and their unanimous voices pronounced the doge worthy of the imperial purple; but the venerable patriot was satisfied with the honour of the nomination, and his prudence declined the union of the incom-

incompatible characters of the first magistrate of a republic, and the emperor of the East. Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainault was next solemnly proclaimed; [A. D. 1204. May 16.] and his competitor, the marquis of Montferrat was the first to kiss the hand of the new sovereign. The Venetians claimed their right of naming the patriarch, and seated Thomas Morosini on the ecclesiastical throne; the revolution was confirmed by the holy sanction of pope Innocent; and the ambassadors of Baldwin announced his accession to Palestine, France, and Rome.

One fourth of the Greek provinces was appropriated to the emperor; one moiety of the remainder was reserved for Venice; and the other moiety was distributed among the adventurers of France and Lombardy; the venerable Dandolo was proclaimed despot of Romania, and closed his long and glorious life at Constantinople; the Venetians extended their factories and islands along the maritime coast from Ragusa to the Hellespont; but the support of their conquests exhausted their treasury; and at length they contented themselves with the homage of the nobles, who undertook to maintain these distant possessions; but the republic purchased the island of Crete of the marquis of Montferrat, whose services were compensated by the royal title and the provinces beyond the Hellespont, which he prudently exchanged for the kingdom of Thessalonica; the lots of the Latin pilgrims were regulated by chance, or choice, or subsequent exchange. Each baron, at the head of his knights and archers, attempted to secure the possession of his share;

claire; a thousand quarrels necessarily arose among men, whose sole umpire was the sword; and three months after the taking of Constantinople, the hostile preparations of the emperor and the king of Thessalonica, were only relinquished at the powerful mediation of the doge, the advice of the marshal Villehardouin, and the firm freedom of their peers.

Two fugitives yet remained, who at different periods had usurped the purple; Mourzouffle who was seized by the Latins of Constantinople, and precipitated from the Theodocian column, a pillar one hundred and forty-seven feet in height; and Alexius, the brother of Isaac, who was fent to end his days in a monastery of Asia. His son-in-law, Theodore Lascaris, had signalized his valour in the two sieges of Constantinople; after the flight of Mourzouffle, he offered himself as their emperor to the soldiers and the people; but the Latins were already in the city; the abject despair of the multitude refused his aid; he escaped to Anatolia, and established his independent authority, from his residence at Nice, over Phrygia, Philadelphia, Smyrna, and Ephesus. Alexius, the ideal heir of the Comneni, had been appointed duke of Trebizond; amidst the public confusion, without changing his title, he reigned from Sinope to the Phasis, along the coast of the Black Sea. A bastard of the house of Angeli founded a strong principality in Epirus, Etolia, and Thessaly; and the independent states of Trebizond, Epirus, and Nice, revived the valour, the learning, and the piety of more prosperous days.

John,

John, the revolted chief of the Bulgarians and Wallachians, had reluctantly submitted to the supremacy claimed by the emperor Baldwin, and the Latin conquerors. He watched and fomented the rising discontents of the Greeks, and as soon as Henry, the emperor's brother, had transported his troops beyond the Hellespont, the signal of revolt was given. [A. D. 1205.] the Latins, without arms or suspicion, were slaughtered by the merciless revenge of their slaves; the furious multitude expelled the French and Venetians from the city of Hadrianople; and the general consternation was increased by the rapid approach of John at the head of his Bulgarians, and fourteen thousand Comans, whom he had allured from the Scythian wilderness. The emperor, alarmed at this danger, sent a messenger to recall his brothers and had he awaited the junction of Henry with twenty thousand Armenians, he might have encountered the invaders with equal numbers and superior discipline; but the ardent spirit of Baldwin induced him to attempt the siege of Hadrianople; and the rashness of the count of Blois precipitated him into an action with the Comans. [A. D. 1205. April 15.] the heavy cavalry of the Latins was fatigued and confused by the rapid evolutions of their adversaries; after an ineffectual display of personal valour, the count of Blois was slain on the field, and the emperor Baldwin became the prisoner of John the Bulgarian.

The delay of the victors, allowed the venerable doge and the marshal Villehardouin to retire towards the sea-coast; and the skill and firmness of the latter, in a

retreat

retreat of three days, has commanded the admiration of posterity; at Rodosto they were joined by Henry and his friends, who had landed from the Asiatic shore; their interview was mournful; and count Henry in the absence of his brother assumed the regency of the declining empire. The Comans had indeed retired from the summer heats, but seven thousand Latins had also deserted the standard and capital of their brethren; the pope in vain conjured the new proselyte, the king of Bulgaria, to restore peace and the emperor to the afflicted Latins; Baldwin was already no more; the unfortunate prince had expired in prison, and the manner of his death is variously related; the regent Henry, on the melancholy intelligence, consented to assume the title of emperor; [A.D. 1206.] but he was encompassed on every side with difficulties; the venerable Dandolo had sunk under the pressure of accumulated years; the king of Thessalonica, in the moment of victory, had been mortally wounded by a Bulgarian hand; the marshal Villehardouin no longer existed; or, if he yet lived, no longer possessed, or displayed, his former vigour; yet Henry, unsupported and almost alone, in the siege of Constantinople and beyond the Hellespont, acquired the character of a valiant knight, and a skilful commander. He was ever foremost on shipboard, or on horseback; and the drooping Latins were often roused by his example to save and second their fearless emperor. The fickle Greeks already repented their invitation of John of Bulgaria, who no longer dissembled his intention of dispeopling Thrace, and transplanting the inhabitants

beyond

beyond the Danube. The cries of the unhappy natives excited the compassion of Henry. With four hundred knights, and their attendants, he repulsed the Bulgarian monarch at the head of forty thousand horse; and the savage John, as he pressed the siege of Thessalonica, was stabbed in the night in his tent. The prudence of Henry, after successive victories, concluded an honourable peace with the successor of the tyrant, and with the Greek princes of Nice and Epirus; but in a superstitious age he presumed to oppose the pride and avarice of the clergy, and the virtuous prince expired at Thessalonica, not without the suspicion of poison, and while he was engaged in protecting the dominions and infant son of his friend Boniface.

The barons of France called to the throne Peter of Courtenay, count of Auxerre, and cousin to the French king, in preference to Andrew king of Hungary, who had married a daughter of Yolande, the sister of the two last emperors. [A. D. 1217.] The ambitious Courtenay, to assert his title, mortgaged the best part of his patrimony, and, by the assistance of Philip of France, passed the Alps at the head of one hundred and forty knights, and was crowned by pope Honorius. The Venetians transported Peter and his forces beyond the Adriatic, on condition that he should recover for them Durazzo from the despot of Epirus, Theodore Angelus. After an ineffectual assault, the emperor pursued his march from Durazzo towards Thessalonica; but he was soon entangled in the mountains of Epirus; arrested at a perfidious banquet by the treacherous Theodore, and terminated a

hopeless

hopeless captivity either by a natural or violent death.

The eldest son of the late emperor, Philip of Courtenay, preferred his mother's inheritance of Edessa to the precarious imperial sceptre; and Robert, the second son, was crowned by the patriarch in the cathedral of St. Sophia; [A. D. 1221] but during his calamitous reign, the French were pressed on all sides by the Greeks of Nice and Epirus. Theodore Angelus expelled from Thessalonica the son of Boniface, erected his standard on the walls of Hadrianople, and claimed the title of emperor. John Vataces, the son-in-law and successor of Theodore Lascaris, seized the remnant of the Asiatic province. His fleets commanded the Hellespont, reduced the islands of Lesbos and Rhodes, attacked the Venetians of Candia, and intercepted the succours of the West; and the unhappy Robert, oppressed by public misfortunes and personal insults, found refuge only in the grave from the intolerable weight of grief and shame. [A. D. 1228.]

Baldwin of Courtenay had been born during the captivity of his father Peter, and though dear by birth to the barons of Romania, yet his infant years induced them to invest with the titles and prerogatives of emperor, Brienne, the titular king of Jerusalem, [A. D. 1228.] on condition that Baldwin should marry his second daughter, and succeed, at a mature age, to the throne of Constantinople. The age of Brienne exceeded fourscore years; his youth had been spent in the acquisition of martial renown, and time had not im-

impaired his faculties. Yet the beginning of his reign was consumed in inactivity, till he was aroused by the formidable alliance of Vataces, emperor of Nice, and of Azan, king of Bulgaria. At the head of his cavalry, the aged hero sallied from the walls of his capital; the numerous host of his enemies fled before him; and the citizens, animated by his example, boarded the hostile galleys near the walls, and twenty-five were dragged in triumph into the harbour of Constantinople; the succeeding year was witness of his triumph over the same enemies; and the last moments of the veteran monarch were dedicated to religion, and the venerable champion of the empire expired in the habit of a Franciscan monk.

The life and reign of Baldwin were unprofitably consumed in soliciting the cold compassion of the princes of Europe; [A.D. 1237.] but the Christian powers beheld with calm indifference the sinking state of the empire, and dealt their bounties with a sparing hand; even the Roman pontiff confined his liberality to the proclamation of a crusade, and the chief proffer of indulgences. Yet Constantinople still possessed one treasure which superstition considered as invaluable. The walls of the capital were relieved by the authentic crown of thorns which had been placed on the head of Christ; it was pledged to the Venetians for seven thousand pounds sterling; redeemed by the king of France; and the mind of Baldwin was reconciled to the loss of the holy and precious relic by the additional present of ten thousand marks of silver.

The arms of Vataces, in successive campaigns, had

triumphed over the Bulgarians, and their kingdom was reduced to its preſent and proper limits, along the ſouthern banks of the Danube. Demetrius was compelled to renounce the imperial purple, and the kingdom of Theſſalonica was added to the empire of Nice; but the reſtoration of the Greeks was ſuſpended by the death of Vataces, the ſhort reign of Theodore his ſon, and the helpleſs infancy of his grandſon John; that young prince was oppreſſed by the ambition of his guardian Michael Palæologus, who diſplayed the virtues and vices that belong to the founder of a new dynaſty. Intent on the conqueſt of Conſtantinople, his deſigns were promoted by the Genoeſe, the natural enemies of the republic of Venice; the Latins were driven from their laſt poſſeſſions in Thrace; the ſuburb of Galata was aſſaulted; and in the enſuing ſpring his favourite general Alexius Strategopulus, paſſed the Helleſpont, reinforced his army with a race of peaſants and outlaws, called *volunteers*, who cultivated the territory between the Propontis and the Black Sea, and advanced in the night with a choſen detachment to the gates of Conſtantinople. The braveſt of the French and Venetians were abſent on an expedition againſt the town of Daphnuſia; the ſcaling ladders were applied; and part of the volunteers were conducted by a ſubterraneous paſſage into the heart of the city. [A. D. 1261. July 25.] The air reſounded with a general acclamation of "Long life and victory "to Michael and John, the auguſt emperors of the "Romans!" The timid Baldwin fled from the palace to the ſea-ſhore; he was received on board the

Vene-

tian fleet, which was juſt returned from a vain attempt on Daphnuſia; was conducted to Italy; and conſumed the remaining thirteen years of his life in vainly ſoliciting the catholic powers to join in his reſtoration.

While the vagrant Baldwin endeavoured to excite the compaſſion, the ſucceſsful Palæologus commanded the reſpect and eſteem of the different princes of Europe. His mother was the elder ſiſter of the wife of Theodore Laſcaris, and had the law of female ſucceſſion been ſtrictly obſerved, might have urged her ſuperior pretenſions to the throne; the deſcent of Palæologus, and the imprudence of his adherents, had in the reign of Vataces expoſed him to ſuſpicion. He was adviſed by the archbiſhop of Philadelphia, a ſubtle courtier, to accept the judgment of God in the fiery proof of the ordeal; the patient was to bear a red-hot ball of iron three times from the altar to the rails of the ſanctuary without artifice and without injury. Palæologus eluded the dangerous experiment with ſenſe and pleaſantry. "I am a ſoldier," ſaid he, "and will boldly enter the liſts with my accuſers: "but a layman, a ſinner like myſelf, is not endowed "with the gift of miracles. *Your* piety, moſt holy pre- "late, may deſerve the interpoſition of heaven, and "from your hands I will receive the fiery globe, the "pledge of my innocence." The archbiſhop ſtarted; the emperor ſmiled; and the pardon of Michael, who already held the office of conſtable, was ſealed by new rewards.

In the ſucceeding reign of Theodore, Palæologus

had been alternately disgraced and restored, and the dying breath of the prince recommended to the constable the protection of his infant son; but his ambition or resentment soon induced him to violate his trust. He was elevated to the rank of regent; the treasures amassed by the œconomy of Vataces were employed to corrupt the guards, and subvert the throne of his grandson. By himself, or his emissaries, Michael strove to persuade every rank of subjects, that their own prosperity would rise in proportion to the establishment of his authority. The weight of taxes was suspended, and the trials by the ordeal and judicial combats were prohibited. He courted the clergy with every mark of external respect; flattered the multitude with the idea of liberty, and the advantages of an elective monarchy; and represented to the nobles the impending danger of a minority, and the necessity of a mature and experienced guardian. He was first invested with the title and prerogatives of despot, which bestowed the second place in the Roman empire; [A. D. 1260. Jan.] he was soon after associated to the purple; and on the day of his coronation, the honours of precedence were assigned to his age and merit.

The new emperor had conferred the title of Cæsar on his general Strategopulus; and the veteran repaid the obligation by restoring Constantinople to the authority of the Greeks. Twenty days after the expulsion of the Latins, Michael made his triumphal entry into the capital. [A. D. 1261. Aug. 14.] The first cares of the conqueror were to reinstate the nobles

in their palaces; to recall the trembling and ſcattered inhabitants; to encourage the induſtry and confirm the privileges of the foreigners; and to repeople the deſerted city, by a liberal invitation to the provinces. His concern for the public was ſoon ſucceeded by an aſſiduous attention to his own intereſt; he was crowned again, and alone, in the church of St. Sophia; [A. D. 1261. Dec. 25.] the name and honours of John Laſcaris, his pupil and lawful ſovereign, were inſenſibly aboliſhed; the conſcience of the uſurper might reſtrain him from dipping his hands in royal blood; but the eyeſight of the unfortunate youth was deſtroyed, and he was removed to a diſtant caſtle, where he ſpent many years in privacy and oblivion. One ſubject alone preſumed to arraign the treaſon and ingratitude of Palæologus; and Arſenius the patriarch drew the ſpiritual ſword, and pronounced againſt the maſter of Conſtantinople the ſentence of excommunication; in vain did Michael confeſs his guilt and deprecate his judge; the unrelenting prelate only condeſcended to anſwer, that for ſo great a crime, great indeed muſt be the ſatisfaction. "Do you require," ſaid Michael, "that I ſhould abdicate the empire?" and at theſe words he ſeemed to offer the ſword of ſtate. Arſenius eagerly graſped at this pledge of ſovereignty; but the emperor refuſed to purchaſe abſolution at ſo dear a rate; and the patriarch indignantly eſcaped to his cell.

The excommunication of Palæologus embarraſſed his meaſures above three years; till the brethren of Arſenius condemned at length his inflexible ſpirit; he

was involved in a rumour of conſpiracy and diſaffection; depoſed by a ſynod from his epiſcopal office; and tranſported to a ſmall iſland of the Propontis, where he expired. The imperial penitent, at the end of ſix years, received abſolution in the preſence of the ſenate and the people, and was reſtored to the communion of the faithful; but the ſpirit of Arſenius ſtill ſurvived in a powerful faction; and his adherents above forty-eight years perſevered in an obſtinate ſchiſm.

The arms of Michael wreſted from the Franks ſeveral of the nobleſt iſlands of the Archipelago, Leſbos, Chios, and Rhodes; his brother Conſtantine was ſent to command in Malvaſia and Sparta; and the eaſtern ſide of the Morea, from Argos and Napoli to Cape Tænerus, was repoſſeſſed by the Greeks; but in the proſecution of theſe weſtern conqueſts, the countries beyond the Helleſpont were left naked to the Turks; and the minds of the Greeks were alienated from their ſovereign by his union with the Latin church. Pope Urban the Fourth had affected to vindicate the cauſe of the fugitive Baldwin; a cruſade was preached by his command againſt the ſchiſmatic Greek; and the ſubtle Palæologus, to calm the riſing tempeſt, acknowledged the ſupremacy of the Roman pontiff. But the concluſion of the treaty was regarded with abhorrence by his ſubjects; they pronounced the Latins heretics, and firmly braved the power and perſecution of the enraged Michael. The tyrant beheld with aſtoniſhment his favourites, and even his own family, deſert him; his ſiſter Eulogia, a niece, and two female couſins, conſpired againſt him; at the time that his violence

lence was detested at Constantinople, his irresolution was arraigned at Rome; and while he was striving to reduce a schismatic people, he himself was excommunicated by pope Martin the Fourth. [A. D. 1283.] On the death of the emperor, the union was unanimously abjured; and the pious Andronicus denied his father the burial of a prince and a Christian.

Mainfroy, who reigned over the two Sicilies, had long braved with impunity the thunders of the Vatican; they were at length launched against him with success, by Charles count of Anjou and Provence, and brother of St. Louis; in the bloody battle of Benevento, Mainfroy lost his friends, his kingdom, and his life. [A. D. 1266.] Naples and Sicily were immediately peopled by the victorious French, and their aspiring leader menaced with his arms the Byzantine empire; on the submission of Michael to the see of Rome, pope Gregory the Tenth had sheathed the sword of the reluctant Charles: it was drawn by Martin the Fourth; and Constantinople might again have bowed before the arms of the West, had not Michael stimulated a domestic enemy, who claimed the entire attention of the Sicilian monarch.

Conradin, the last heir of the imperial house of Swabia, had been defeated by the sword of Charles, and executed on a public scaffold. Among his proscribed adherents, John of Procida forfeited a small island of that name in the bay of Naples. Procida was endowed with art to enforce his reasons, and disguise his motives. The new kingdoms of Charles were afflicted by every species of oppression; the resentment

of the Neapolitans was repreſſed by the preſence of the ſovereign himſelf; but his vicegerents in Sicily ſerved only to excite the general contempt. The eloquence of Procida awakened the barons by the ſenſe of intereſt, and arouſed the iſland with the name of freedom. Peter, king of Arragon, who poſſeſſed the maritime countries of Valencia and Catalonia, was induced by the offer of a crown, which he might juſtly claim by his marriage with the ſiſter of Mainfroy, and by the dying voice of Conradin; the gold of Palæologus armed a Catalan fleet, which ſailed under the pretence of attacking the Saracens of Africa; and pope Nicholas himſelf, the enemy of Charles, ſigned the treaty, and transferred the fiefs of St. Peter from the houſe of Anjou to that of Arragon.

On the vigil of Eaſter, a noble damſel was violated by a French ſoldier; the raviſher was inſtantly puniſhed with death; the conſpirators ſeized the opportunity; the flame ſpread over the iſland; and eight thouſand French were exterminated in a promiſcuous maſſacre, which has obtained the name of the SICILIAN VESPERS. [A. D. 1282. March 30.] The revolt was inſpired by the preſence of Procida; and Peter of Arragon, who ſailed from the African coaſt to Palermo, was ſaluted as the king and ſaviour of the iſle. Charles was confounded at the intelligence; he was heard to exclaim in an agony of grief and devotion, "O God! if thou "haſt decreed to humble me, grant me at leaſt a gentle "and gradual deſcent from the pinnacle of greatneſs." His fleet and army were haſtily recalled from the Grecian war; and the firſt tempeſt of his rage burſt

upon

upon Meſſina. The citizens in vain ſued for pardon; the implacable monarch demanded that eight hundred rebels ſhould be yielded to his diſcretion; deſpair animated the Meſſineſe; the fleet of Peter of Arragon approached to their relief; Charles retired to the Calabrian ſhore; and the French fleet was defeated and deſtroyed by the Cattalan ſquadron. [A. D. 1282. Oct.] From this moment the life of Charles was a ſeries of misfortunes; and Sicily, ſevered from the throne of Naples, was transferred, as an independent kingdom, to a younger branch of the houſe of Arragon.

The empire of Andronicus was aſſaulted and endangered by a race of men, who firſt had been nurtured in diſcord by his father Michael. After the peace of Sicily many thouſands of Genoeſe and *Catalans* heard the Greek provinces of Aſia were invaded by the Turks, and determined to ſhare the ſpoil; they were readily ſupplied with the means for their departure by Frederic king of Sicily; in a warfare of twenty years, arms were their ſole profeſſion and property. Roger de Flor, the moſt popular of their chiefs, had been ſucceſſively a templar, an apoſtate, a pirate, and was become the moſt powerful admiral in the Mediterranean. He ſailed from Meſſina to Conſtantinople with eighteen gallies, four great ſhips, and eight thouſand adventurers, and was received with tranſport by the elder Andronicus, and created duke of Romania. He defeated the Turks in two bloody battles, raiſed the ſiege of Philadelphia, and was hailed as the deliverer of Aſia; but his demands were at leaſt proportioned to his ſervices; and his licentious ſoldiers became equally formid-

formidable to the empire as the Moſlems. While the ſtyle of Roger was reſpectful, his conduct was independent; and though he retained the command of his Catalans, he condeſcended to accept the title and ornaments of Cæſar. The new Cæſar was ſtabbed in the apartment of the empreſs by the Alani guards; this deed was imputed to private revenge, yet his followers at Conſtantinople were involved in the ſame fate by the rage of the people. The crowd of adventurers, intimidated by the loſs of their leader, hoiſted ſail, and fled towards the Mediterranean coaſt; but a band of fifteen hundred ſtationed in the fortreſs of Gallipoli, diſplayed the banner of Arragon, twice defeated the united force of the empire, and intercepted the trade of Conſtantinople and the Black Sea, till the diſcord of their chiefs, and the want of proviſions, compelled them to evacuate the banks of the Helleſpont, and the neighbourhood of the capital.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XLVI.

REIGNS OF ANDRONICUS, THE ELDER AND YOUNGER, AND JOHN PALÆOLOGUS——REGENCY, REVOLT, REIGN, AND ABDICATION OF JOHN CANTACUZENE—ESTABLISHMENT OF A GENOESE COLONY AT PERA—THEIR WARS WITH THE EMPIRE AND CITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

ANDRONICUS, afterwards ſurnamed the elder, had been proclaimed and crowned emperor in the fifteenth year of his age; he held that auguſt title nine years as the colleague, and fifty as the ſucceſſor, of his father. [A. D. 1282.] The virtue and learning for which he is celebrated contributed not either to the proſperity or glory of his long and unintereſting reign. The abject ſlave of ſuperſtition, his mind was continually agitated by the terrors of a *future* ſtate; while the invaſion of the Catalans expoſed the weakneſs, and the riſe of the Ottoman power menaced the exiſtence, of his preſent empire. Michael, the eldeſt ſon of Andronicus, was aſſociated to the purple; but the humble virtues of this prince neither excited the jealouſy, nor raiſed the hopes of the people; the ſon of Michael was named Andronicus from his grandfather, and the early appearance of wit and beauty endeared him to the emperor. He was educated in the palace as an heir and a favourite, and the names of the father, the ſon, and the grandſon, were joined in the oaths and acclamations of the people; but the emperor ſoon had reaſon

and

and leiſure to reflect on his haſty partiality. The mind of the youth was corrupted by his premature greatneſs, and he beheld with impatience the double obſtacle that oppoſed his riſing ambition; the capital was diſturbed by his tumultuous revels and aſſiduous intemperance; and the lives of his brother and father were at length the victims of his vices. A beautiful female, of honourable rank, but of licentious manners, had delivered her perſon to the embraces of the younger Andronicus; but the prince had reaſon to ſuſpect the nocturnal viſits of a rival; his guards were placed at her door, and their arrows pierced a ſtranger who was paſſing through the ſtreets; that ſtranger was prince Manuel, his brother, who died of the wound; and their common father Michael, expired in a few days, after lamenting with his laſt breath the loſs of both his ſons. The younger Andronicus but ill diſſembled his joy at the removal of his two competitors, and the reigning emperor, alarmed at his repeated diſorders, transferred his hopes and affection to another grandſon. An oath of allegiance was exacted to the elder Andronicus and the *perſon* whom he ſhould appoint for his ſucceſſor; [A. D. 1320.] and the acknowledged heir was expoſed to the indignity of a public trial. But the palace courts were ſoon filled with the armed followers of the younger Andronicus, and the reconciliation to which his grandfather conſented, expoſed the weakneſs of the latter, and confirmed the ambitious deſigns of the former.

In a ſhort time, under the pretence of hunting, the young prince eſcaped from the capital, erected his ſtand-

ſtandard at Adrianople, and aſſembled in a few days fifty thouſand horſe and foot. The enterpriſe was directed, and the rebels were animated by the policy and courage of John Cantacuzene, the great domeſtic; but though the force of the conſpirators was ſuch as might have commanded the empire, yet their motions were ſlow and doubtful, and their progreſs was checked by intrigue and negociation; during ſeven ruinous years the quarrel of the two Andronici was ſuſpended and renewed. In the firſt treaty, the younger acquired the ſovereignty of the greateſt part of Thrace, from Philippi to the Byzantine limit. [A. D. 1321.] By the ſecond he ſtipulated the payment of his troops, his immediate coronation, and an adequate ſhare of the power and the revenue of the ſtate. [A. D. 1325.] The third civil war was terminated by the ſurpriſe of Conſtantinople, the final retreat of the old emperor, and the ſole reign of his victorious grandſon. [A. D. 1328.] Theſe various delays may be found in characters of the men and of the times. The elder Andronicus had long loſt the reſpect of his ſubjects, and the deſtructive progreſs of the Turks contributed to alienate the minds of the people. "How different," ſaid the younger Andronicus, "is my ſituation from "that of the ſon of Philip; Alexander might com- "plain that his father would leave him nothing to "conquer: alas! my grandſire will leave me nothing "to loſe." Yet the indolence of the ambitious youth long prevented him from aſcending the throne, and the moments which ought to have been dedicated

to

to the profecution of his enterprife, were devoted to his hawks, his hounds, and his huntfmen.

When the aged emperor refigned the fceptre into the hands of his grandfon, he was for fome time permitted the ufe of the great palace, and affigned a penfion of twenty-four thoufand pieces of gold. This allowance was gradually diminifhed to ten thoufand, while the afflictions of the aged prince were augmented by the lofs of his fight. His confinement was every day rendered more rigorous, and he was compelled, by the threats of inftant death, to exchange the imperial purple for a monaftic habit. The monk *Antony* renounced the pomp of the world; in his fequeftered cell his wants were few, but even thofe few were neglected by his unfeeling or inconfiderate grandfon; the trifle he could obtain was often appropriated to relieve the more painful diftrefs of a friend; and four years after his abdication, and in the feventy-fourth year of his age, the penitent monarch expired with the hopes of a more fplendid crown in heaven. [A. D. 1332.]

The reign of the younger was not more fortunate or glorious than that of the elder Andronicus. He was defeated and wounded in a decifive battle with the Turks, and his overthrow confirmed the eftablifhment of the Turkifh monarchy. The abufes of the civil government accelerated the decay of the empire; and his own, was the confequence of his early intemperance, and the indulgence of his unbridled paffions. [A. D. 1341.] In the forty-fifth year of his age he

funk

ſunk into the grave; by his firſt wife Irene, the daughter of the duke of Brunſwick, he left no children; his ſecond marriage with Anne, the ſiſter of the count of Savoy, was attended by the birth of John Palæologus, his only ſon and ſucceſſor.

The empreſs Anne ſurvived her huſband; and the weakneſs of the infant emperor, who had only entered his ninth year, was protected by the genius of John Cantacuzene. That illuſtrious Greek had long been the friend and ſupport of the younger Andronicus; and in the moments of ſickneſs, the late emperor preſſed him to accept the imperial title; the dangerous propoſal was rejected by the virtue of the great domeſtic, and he was named in the teſtament of Andronicus as the guardian of his ſon, and the regent of the empire. He might perhaps have diſcharged the duties of theſe important truſts with zeal and fidelity, had he met a ſuitable return of obedience and gratitude. The firſt month of his authority was flattered by the ſubmiſſion of the capital and the provinces; but the proſpect of a tranquil minority was ſoon blaſted by the ambition of Apocaucus, the great admiral, who had been raiſed to that office by the influence of Cantacuzene himſelf, contrary to the advice of his more diſcerning ſovereign. The arrogance of Apocaucus was augmented by the command of a naval force and an impregnable caſtle. He encouraged Anne of Savoy to aſſert, by the law of nature, the tutelage of her ſon. He flattered, and ſoon allured into his meaſures, John of Apri, the patriarch, a proud and feeble old man, encompaſſed by a numerous and hungry kindred. That

pre-

prelate produced an obſolete epiſtle of Andronicus, which bequeathed the prince and people to his pious care; he haughtily aſſumed the temporal claims of a Roman pontiff, and Cantacuzene was encompaſſed on every ſide by the powerful confederacy. His prerogatives were diſputed; his opinions ſlighted; his friends perſecuted; and while he was abſent on the public ſervice, he was proſcribed as an enemy to church and ſtate; his fortunes were confiſcated; his aged mother caſt into priſon; and he was driven by injuſtice to perpetrate the crime of which he was accuſed. He had long, previous to any open hoſtility, ſolicited permiſſion to retire to a monaſtic life; and even after he was declared a public enemy, it was with difficulty he was diſſuaded from the reſolution of throwing himſelf at the feet of the young emperor, and patiently ſubmitting to the ſtroke of the executioner.

From this deſign he was diverted by the remonſtrances of his family and friends, who convinced him that no reſource remained but that of aſſuming the imperial title. [A. D. 1341. Oct. 26.] In the city of Demotica, his peculiar domain, he was inveſted with the purple; but even in his revolt the names of John Palæologus, and Anne of Savoy, were proclaimed before his own, and that of his wife Irene. The want of preparation confirms his aſſurance, that the ſtep was the effect of neceſſity rather than choice; the capital, the provinces, and the leaders of the troops leaned, or adhered, to the cauſe of the young emperor; the army of Cantacuzene deſerted him, and with five hundred

hundred followers he was compelled to ſeek a retreat among the ſavage Servians; their *cral*, or deſpot, at firſt received the fugitive with generous hoſpitality; but Cantacuzene was gradually degraded to a ſuppliant, a captive, and a hoſtage; and was at length diſmiſſed to a new viciſſitude of hope and perils; for ſix years the empire was diſtracted by the various ſucceſs of the contending factions; and it was the juſt remark of Cantacuzene himſelf, when ſpeaking of foreign and civil war; "the former," ſaid he, "is "the external warmth of ſummer, always tolerable, "and often beneficial; the latter is the deadly heat "of a fever, which conſumes without a remedy the "vitals of the conſtitution."

The liberality of Cantacuzene acquired at length the ſupport of the Turks of Aſia; and the death of Apocaucus ſoon decided the inclining ſcale in his favour; the ſuſpicious admiral had confined, in the old palace of Conſtantine, a crowd of nobles and diſaffected citizens; while he urged in perſon the reſtoration of the walls, and the conſtruction of ſome new cells, he was aſſaulted, and laid breathleſs on the ground, by two reſolute priſoners of the Palæologian race, who were armed with ſticks, and animated by deſpair. His head was expoſed on the battlements; but his fate was avenged by his widow and his adherents, and all the priſoners were equally involved in a promiſcuous and undiſcerning maſſacre; yet his talents alone upheld the cauſe of the young emperor; and his ſurviving aſſociates, ſuſpicious of each other, abandoned the conduct of the war, and rejected the

fairest terms of accommodation. The empress Anne had at first complained that she was deceived by the enemies of Cantacuzene, and that the patriarch had bound her by an oath, under the penalty of excommunication, to eternal enmity; but that enmity was soon rendered voluntary by the competition of a rival empress; and in her turn, she threatened the patriarch, who seemed desirous of an accommodation, to convene a synod, and degrade him from his office; yet though their discord afforded the most signal advantages to Cantacuzene, the progress of his arms was slow and gradual; he successively recovered the distant provinces and cities, and at length invested his pupil in the walls of Constantinople, which he had already secured by the public voice, and private correspondence. The besiegers were introduced by an Italian of the name of Facciolati; the empress Anne was persuaded to submit; and the conqueror dictated a treaty, by which the marriage of his daughter with John Palæologus was consummated, [A. D. 1347.] the hereditary right of the pupil was acknowledged, but the sole administration, during ten years, was vested in the guardian.

The triumph and reign of John Cantacuzene were clouded by the discontent of his own and the adverse faction. His friends regretted the fortunes they had forfeited in his cause, and which were irretrievably alienated by an act of oblivion; his enemies blushed to hold their lives and possessions by the precarious favour of an usurper. The partizans of Anne were alarmed by a petition from the adherents of Cantacu-

zene, that they might be abſolved from their oath of allegiance to the Palæologi; and the repoſe of the monarch was continually diſturbed by plots and ſeditions. The ſon of Andronicus, as he advanced in years, began to feel and to act for himſelf; and with the ambition of his father, he inherited his ſordid and ſenſual appetites. The younger colleague was initiated by the elder in the myſteries of war and government during the Servian expedition. On the concluſion of the peace he was left at Theſſalonica, and ſecluded from the eye of Cantacuzene; he concluded a private treaty with the cral of Servia, which was ſoon followed by an open revolt. In vain did Anne of Savoy attempt to mediate between the rivals, and repreſent that the ten years of the legal adminiſtration of the regent would ſoon expire, and that he panted to retire, at the end of that term, within a cloyſter. Palæologus perſevered, and was only repulſed by the numbers and martial courage of the Turks, who eſpouſed the cauſe of the regent, and now eſtabliſhed themſelves for ever in Europe. The victorious Cantacuzene no longer hoped to regain the confidence of the ſon of Andronicus; and by the aſſociation of his ſon, Matthew, rendered the quarrel irreconcilable; but Conſtantinople was ſtill attached to the blood of her ancient princes; and a noble Genoeſe eſpouſed the cauſe of Palæologus, obtained a promiſe of his ſiſter, and atchieved the revolution with two gallies, and two thouſand five hundred auxiliaries; he was admitted into the port under the pretence of diſtreſs; a gate was opened at night; and John Cantacuzene was inform-

ed by the acclamations of the people, "long life and "victory to the emperor, John Palæologus," of the ſucceſs of his coleague, and the extinction of his own authority. [A. D. 1355.] He deſcended from the throne, embraced the monaſtic habit and profeſſion, and devoted the remainder of his life to piety and learning.

Before the abdication of Cantacuzene, his throne had been ſhaken by the hoſtile diſpoſition of the Genoeſe. When Conſtantinople was reſtored to the authority of the Greeks, the ſuburb of Pera had been beſtowed as a fief, by the bounty of Michael Palæologus, on his allies, the Genoeſe. In the ſubſequent reign, that ſuburb was deſtroyed by the Venetians, the implacable enemies of Genoa, and her colonies; but the ſufferers obtained from the eaſy temper of the elder Andronicus, the formidable permiſſion of ſurrounding Pera with walls, and of mounting on the rampart a train of military engines. The ſtrangers gradually and daily acquired ſome addition of landed property, and the adjacent hills were ſoon covered with their villas and caſtles, which they joined and protected by new fortifications. The colony of Pera aſſumed the prerogatives of an independent ſtate; the haughty merchants of Genoa monopolized almoſt every branch of commerce, oppreſſed the Greeks with their naval armaments, and fed, or famiſhed Conſtantinople, according to their intereſt.

The emperor Cantacuzene had refuſed to theſe encroaching neighbours ſome contiguous heights, on

on which they propoſed to erect new fortifications; [A. D. 1348.] in the abſence of that prince, who was detained by ſickneſs at Demotica, the ambitious traders of Pera ſunk, and murdered the crew of a Byzantine veſſel, which preſumed to fiſh off the mouth of the harbour; encouraged by the weakneſs of the empire, they inſiſted the Greeks ſhould renounce the exerciſe of navigation; they occupied and entrenched the land which had been formally denied them, burnt two imperial gallies, and plundered the habitations that were beyond the gates. The arrival of Cantacuzene diſpelled the public conſternation; but he vainly recommended to his obſtinate enemies, and to his indignant ſubjects, the propriety of peaceful counſels; yet the clamours of the Greeks were but ill-ſeconded by their actions in the hour of danger. While the Genoeſe, doubtful of the event, prepared to deſert their colony, the Byzantine fleet and army, ſtruck with a ſudden panic, fled, or became the prey of a diſtant and inactive enemy. The crews, compoſed of peaſants and mechanics, abandoned their veſſels, and the captive gallies were dragged in triumph by the Genoeſe, who themſelves bluſhed at their bloodleſs victory. The baffled Cantacuzene ſoon ſought and obtained the alliance of the Venetians and Catalans; [A. D. 1352.] but in a bloody battle, the confederate fleets were repulſed and defeated by the Genoeſe; the Venetians retired; the Greeks alone were incapable of continuing the war; a treaty

was ſigned, by which the victors obtained a monopoly of trade; and the colony of Pera awed the capital and navigated the Euxine, till it was involved by the Turks in the final ſervitude of Conſtantinople itſelf.

CHAPTER XLVII.

CONQUEST OF ZINGIS KHAN AND THE MOGULS, FROM CHINA TO POLAND—ORIGIN OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS IN BITHYNIA—REIGNS AND VICTORIES OF OTHMAN, ORCHAN, AMURATH THE FIRST, AND BAJAZET THE FIRST—PROGRESS OF THE TURKISH MONARCHY IN ASIA AND EUROPE—DANGER OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE GREEK EMPIRE.

In tracing the rise and progress of the Ottomans, the present sovereigns of Constantinople, it will be necessary first to describe the great eruption of the Moguls and Tartars; nor can the reader be displeased at this opportunity of briefly reviewing the nations, the immediate, or remote, authors of the fall of the Roman empire.

The countries between China, Siberia, and the Caspian Sea, have repeatedly poured forth their numbers to shake and subvert the thrones of Asia and Europe. In the twelfth century, these ancient seats of the Huns and Turks were occupied by many pastoral tribes, of similar descent and manners, which were united and led to conquest by the formidable Zingis; the birth of that Barbarian, whose private appellation was Temugin, was noble; his father had reigned over thirteen hordes, which comprised about thirty or forty thousand families; these refused to acknowledge the authority of his infant son, and at thirteen Temugin

fought a battle againſt, and was defeated by, his rebellious ſubjects; [A. D. 1206.] but his genius roſe ſuperior to his fortune, and at forty he had eſtabliſhed his dominion over the neighbouring tribes. His followers he rewarded with unbounded liberality, and divided among them all he poſſeſſed, his horſes and his apparel; his enemies he puniſhed with unprecedented ſeverity; and after his firſt victory, ſeventy of the moſt guilty rebels were caſt into as many cauldrons of boiling water. The hope of reward, and the dread of puniſhment, are two of the moſt powerful incentives to the human mind; and the boldeſt chieftains might tremble, when they beheld, enchaſed with ſilver, the ſkull of the khan of the Keraites, who under the name of Preſter John, had correſponded with the Roman pontiff and the princes of Europe: yet the daring Temugin condeſcended to employ the arts of ſuperſtition, and declared that a naked prophet had beſtowed on him the title of Zingis, the *moſt great*, and a right to the dominion of the earth. He was ſeated on a felt, which was long preſerved as a relic, and was ſolemnly proclaimed in a general diet great khan, or emperor, of the Moguls and Tartars.

By the laws which Zingis dictated to his ſubjects, the crimes of adultery, murder, and perjury, and the capital theft of an horſe or an ox, were puniſhed with death. The neceſſary domeſtic labours of the victorious nation were aſſigned to the hands of ſlaves and ſtrangers; and the hours of the Tartars were dedicated to the pleaſures of the chace and the profeſſion of arms. The khan of the Tartars could neither read

nor

nor write, yet his reaſon dictated to him the exiſtence of one God, the author of all good; and he eſtabliſhed by his laws a ſyſtem of pure theiſm and perfect toleration. The Tartars and the Moguls were addicted to the idols of their peculiar tribes; and many of them had been converted by the foreign miſſionaries of Moſes, of Mahomet, and of Chriſt; theſe various ſyſtems were taught and practiſed in the ſame camp, and the bonze, the imán, the rabbi, and the Latin prieſt, enjoyed the ſame honourable exemption from ſervice and tribute.

The hords of the Deſert, who pitched their tents between the wall of China and the Volga, were ſucceſſively reduced by the arms of Zingis, whoſe authority extended over the paſtoral world, and whoſe empire contained many millions of ſhepherds and ſoldiers, confident in their own ſtrength, and impatient to ſhare the ſpoils of the fertile ſouth. The Chineſe had impoſed a tribute on the anceſtors of Temugin, and he himſelf had been diſgraced by a title of honour and ſervitude; the vaſſal of the court of Pekin claimed the ſame tribute and obedience which he had formerly paid; his demands were haughtily rejected; but his innumerable ſquadrons ſoon pierced the feeble barrier of the great wall; ninety cities were ſtormed or ſtarved; [A. D. 1210.] and an hundred thouſand khitans, who were appointed to guard the frontier, ſupported his invaſion by their revolt; yet the conqueror condeſcended to liſten to a treaty, and his retreat was purchaſed by a princeſs of China, three thouſand horſes, five hundred youths, as many virgins, and a tribute

a tribute of gold and silk. The Chinese emperor was compelled, by a second expedition, to retire beyond the Yellow River to a more southern residence; after an obstinate defence, the city of Pekin was taken; [A. D. 1214.] the palace was destroyed; and the empire of Zingis was augmented by the five northern provinces of China.

Mohammed, the sultan of Carizme, had provoked the reluctant resentment of Zingis, who wished to establish a friendly intercourse with the most powerful of the Moslem princes, by the murder of three Tartar ambassadors, and one hundred and fifty merchants. Seven hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars marched under the standard of Zingis and his four sons; they were encountered, in the vast plains to the north of the Jaxartes, by four hundred thousand soldiers of the sultan; [A. D. 1218.] in the first battle, which was only suspended by the night, one hundred and sixty thousand Carizmians were slain; and Mohammed, dismayed by the numbers and valour of his enemies, withdrew from the field, and cautiously distributed his troops in the frontier towns: but the prudence of Zingis had formed a body of Chinese engineers skilled in the mechanic arts; Bochara, Samarchand, Carizme, Herat, and Candahar, were successively taken; the populous countries of Transoxiana, Carizme, and Chorasan, were subdued; and many hundred miles from the Caspian to the Indus, the devastations of the Tartars were extended with such incredible alacrity and diligence, that five centuries have not been sufficient to repair the ravages of four years. Mohammed had expired

expired in a desert island of the Caspian Sea, and the valour of his son Gelaleddin, though it ineffectually opposed the torrent of the Tartar invasion, yet it extorted the admiration of Zingis himself. Oppressed by the innumerable host of his enemies, Gelaleddin spurred his horse into the Indus, and swam one of the broadest and most rapid rivers of Asia.

The murmurs of his troops checked the progress of the Mogul conqueror; [A. D. 1224.] from the banks of the Indus, laden with spoil, he reluctantly measured back his steps: the desolated face of the country excited his pity; and he declared his intention of rebuilding the cities which had been swept away in his triumphant course; his generals had already subdued the western provinces of Persia, penetrated through the gates of Derbend, traversed the Volga and the Desert, and accomplished the circuit of the Caspian Sea; the rebellious, or independent kingdoms of Tartary, were overthrown on the return of Zingis; his career of glory and victory was only interrupted by death; [A. D. 1227.] and his last breath exhorted and instructed his son to atchieve the conquest of the Chinese empire.

The immediate successor of Zingis, was his son Octai; Gayuk received the paternal sceptre of Octai, and it was devolved by general consent on his cousins Mangou and Cublai, the sons of Tuli, and the grandsons of Zingis. Almost all Asia, and a large portion of Europe, were subdued in the sixty-eight years of his four first successors; and the progress of their arms will be rapidly

rapidly recapitulated, I. in the Eaſt; II. in the South; III. in the Weſt; and IV. in the North.

I. China, before the invaſion of Zingis, had been divided into two dynaſties of the North and South; the northern empire, which had been diſmembered by the arms, was finally ſubdued ſeven years after the death of the firſt Mogul conqueror. The emperor of China, after the loſs of Pekin, had fixed his reſidence at Kaifong; and driven from thence, had made his laſt unſucceſsful ſtand in a third capital; he eſcaped only with ſeven horſemen, and the hopeleſs prince aſcended a funeral pile, and gave orders, that as ſoon as he had ſtabbed himſelf, the fire ſhould be kindled by his attendants. [A. D. 1234.] The ſouthern dynaſty was not entirely extinguiſhed till the reign of Cublai; the royal reſidence of Hamchan, or Quinſay, was inveſted, and the emperor, a defenceleſs youth, was compelled to proſtrate himſelf before the great khan, who was content to ſpare his life, and to baniſh him to Tartary; from Hamchan to Canton the ſpirit of independence was ſtill nouriſhed, and at laſt transferred to the ſea; but all oppoſition ſunk before the arms of Cublai; the laſt champion of the Chineſe plunged into the ſea with his infant emperor, exclaiming, "it is more glori-"ous to die a prince, than to live a ſlave." [A. D. 1279. From Tonkin to the great wall the whole empire ſubmitted to Cublai; the adjacent kingdoms of Corea, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Pegu, Bengal, and Thibet, were degraded by tribute and obedience; Japan was twice protected from his ambition by the ſeaſonable inter-

interpoſition of ſtorms; but the diſtant iſle of Borneo was alarmed and ravaged by a fleet of a thouſand ſhips.

II. In the ſucceſſive reigns of Mangou and Cublai, Perſia was reduced under the Mogul yoke. The ſubjection of Hindoſtan, by the houſe of Timour, was delayed to a later period; but the Abbaſſides, who had recovered their lawful dominion of Bagdad, and the Arabian Irak, were finally extinguiſhed by the arms of Holagou, the lieutenant and brother of Mangou and Cublai. Bagdad was ſtormed and ſacked by the Moguls; and their ſavage commander pronounced the death of the caliph Motaſſem, the laſt of the temporal ſucceſſors of Mahomet, whoſe noble kinſmen, of the race of Abbas, had reigned in Aſia above five hundred years. [A. D. 1258.] The victorious Moguls ſpread beyond the Tigris and the Euphrates, plundered Aleppo and Damaſcus, and menaced Egypt, which was protected by the valour of the Mamalukes, in many a hard-fought field. [A. D. 1242—1272.] The returning tide overwhelmed the kingdoms of Armenia and Anatolia; and the ſultans of Iconium, after a tranſient reſiſtance, were finally extirpated by the khans of Perſia.

III. In the reign of Octai, his nephew Batou, with five hundred thouſand Moguls and Tartars, ravaged the remote countries of the Weſt. [A. D. 1235.] In leſs than ſix years, his rapid and innumerable ſquadrons meaſured a line of ninety degrees longitude; they traverſed the great rivers, the Volga and Kama, the Don and Boryſthenes, the Viſtula and Danube.

The

The plains of Turkeſtan and Kipzak, the kingdoms of Aſtracan and Cazan, the countries of Georgia and Circaſſia, were deluged by the formidable hoſt; from Livonia to the Black Sea, Ruſſia was enſlaved by the Tartars; thence they penetrated into the heart of Poland, and as far as the borders of Germany. The cities of Lublin and Cracow were deſtroyed, the dukes of Sileſia were defeated in the battle of Lignitz, and the Carpathian hills were pierced by their irreſiſtible columns. The whole country north of the Danube was loſt in a day, and depopulated in a ſummer. Of all the cities and fortreſſes of Hungary, three alone ſurvived the Tartar invaſion; and the unfortunate monarch, Bela the Fourth, was compelled to ſeek a refuge in the iſlands of the Adriatic. [A. D. 1245.] After waſting the adjacent kingdoms of Servia, Boſnia, and Bulgaria, Batou retreated towards the Volga, to enjoy his city and palace of Serai, which ſtarted at his command from the midſt of the deſert.

IV. Even the frozen regions of the north could not eſcape the ambitious arms of the Moguls; Sheibani Khan, the brother of Batou, eſtabliſhed himſelf at Tabolſkoy, and his deſcendants maintained their throne above three centuries, till the Ruſſian conqueſt. [A. D. 1242.] Fifteen years after the death of Zingis, the name and manners of the Samoyedes in the neighbourhood of the polar circle, and who dwelt in ſubterraneous huts, were become familiar to the indefatigable Moguls.

The ſucceſſors of Zingis had devolved the toils of conqueſt on their martial lieutenants; and with the exten-

extenſion of their dominion, they inſenſibly relaxed from the paſtoral manners of their anceſtors. Their tents were exchanged for houſes, and Caracorum, the the royal reſidence of Octai and Mangou, graduallſy aſſumed the appearance of a city. The artiſts of China and Paris vied with each other in the ſervice of the great khan; and Cublai, who fixed his reſidence at Pekin, reſtored the ancient conſtitution of China, adopted the laws, and imbibed the faſhions, and even the prejudices of the people whom he had vanquiſhed. The Tartar monarch declined from the ſimple religion of Zingis, and the diſciples of Confucius were ſcandalized at his ſacrifices to the idol Fo, and his blind attachment to the lamas of Thibet and the bonzes of China. One hundred and forty years after the death of Zingis, his degenerate race was expelled by a revolt of the native Chineſe; and after the death of Cublai they had forfeited their ſupremacy over the dependant branches of their houſe, the khans of Kipzak and Ruſſia, the khans of Zagatai and Tranſoxiana, and the khans of Iran or Perſia; theſe, according to their ſituation, maintained the ſimplicity of the paſtoral life, or were allured by Aſia ic luxury; but they renounced all intercourſe with the ancient Moguls, the idolators of China, and unanimouſly conformed to the religion of Mahomet.

Conſtantinople, moſt probably, muſt have been involved in the fate of Pekin, Sarmarcand, and Bagdad, had not death ſurpriſed Batou while he meditated the conqueſt of, and was rapidly advancing towards, the capital of the Cæſars. His brother Borga penetrated into Bulgaria and Thrace, but his attention was diverted

verted from the Byzantine war to the poſſeſſion of Novogorod, and the internal regulation of Ruſſia. Michael Palæologus was indeed ſurpriſed in a Thracian caſtle by thirty thouſand Tartars; but their object was the deliverance of Azzadin, the Turkiſh ſultan, with whoſe perſon, and the treaſure of the emperor, they were content; and their general Noga, who maintained a formidable rebellion againſt the khan of Kipzak, married Maria, the natural daughter of Palæologus, and guarded the dominions of his father and friend. The enterpriſes of the Moguls rather ſecured, than diſturbed the Roman provinces of Aſia, and the hoſtility of Holagou the conqueror of Bagdad and his ſucceſſors, to the Moſlems, inclined them to unite with the Greeks and Franks. The houſe of Zingis was at length weakened by internal diſcord, and the jarring intereſts of its various princes; and the decline of the Moguls gave a free ſcope to the riſe and progreſs of the Ottoman empire.

The ſultan Gelaleddin of Carizme, after the retreat of Zingis, had returned to the poſſeſſion of his Perſian kingdoms; for eleven years he waged a continual war, and at laſt, oppreſſed by the jealouſy of the Moſlem princes, and the innumerable armies of the Moguls, he periſhed in the mountains of Curdiſtan. After his death, the bolder leaders of the Turkman hords, who had attached themſelves to his fortune, invaded Syria; the more humble entered into the ſervice of Aladin, the ſultan of Iconium; among theſe were the obſcure fathers of the Ottoman line, who had formerly pitched their tents near the ſouthern banks of

the Oxus. Orthogrul became the ſoldier and ſubject of Aladin, and governed for fifty-two years, on the banks of the Sangar, a camp of four hundred families. His ſon Thaman, whoſe Turkiſh name has been changed for the appellation of the caliph Othman, was diſtinguiſhed by the virtues of a ſoldier; he was ſituated on the verge of the Greek empire; the paſſes of Mount Olympus were neglected by the emperor Palæologus; and the ambitious Othman, ſanctified by the koran in his war againſt the infidels, invaded the territory of Nicomedia. [A. D. 1299. July 27.] For twenty-ſeven years his formidable inroads were continued; he occupied and fortified the moſt uſeful poſts and important caſtles, and as he ſunk into the grave, received the welcome intelligence that Pruſa had ſurrendered to the arms of his ſon Orchan.

By the attention of Orchan, Pruſa aſſumed the aſpect of a Mahometan capital, and was decorated with a moſch, a college, and an hoſpital of royal foundation. To the care of the city ſucceeded that of the army; the looſe ſquadrons of cavalry which fought without pay or diſcipline, were permitted to follow the ſtandard under the appellation of *free-booters*; but a permanent force was gradually raiſed from the captives, and a regular body of infantry was trained and eſtabliſhed. A train of battering engines was framed for the uſe of ſieges; the firſt ſucceſsful experiment was made on the cities of Nice and Nicomedia; and the kingdom of Bithynia ſubmitted to the ſon of Othman. Yet the forces of that chief were ſurpaſſed by thoſe of the emirs

of Ghermian and Caramania; and the elder Andronicus, in the thirtieth year of his reign, had finally loſt the maritime country from the Propontis to the Meander, and the iſle of Rhodes. Philadelphia indeed maintained her religion and freedom above fourſcore years, and at length obtained a favourable capitulation; and the ſervitude of Rhodes was delayed above two centuries by the eſtabliſhment of the knights of Jeruſalem.

The Turkiſh emirs of Lydia and Ionia had conſtructed a fleet, and pillaged the adjacent iſlands and ſea-coaſt of Europe; and Cantacuzene, in defence of his honour and his life, formed an alliance with Amir, the ſon of Aidin, a Turkiſh chieftain; the prince of Ionia, with a fleet of three hundred veſſels, and an army of twenty-nine thouſand men, ſailed in the depth of winter from Smyrna, and caſt anchor at the mouth of the Hebrus. He relieved the empreſs Irene, who was beſieged in Demotica by the wild Bulgarians; and during the civil war he twice returned to Europe, joined his arms with thoſe of Cantacuzene, beſieged Theſſalonica, and threatened Conſtantinople. Before his death he recommended the emperor to cultivate the friendſhip of the prince of Bithynia, who by his ſituation along the Propontis, and in the front of Conſtantinople, could afford a more prompt and powerful ſuccour. The daughter of Cantacuzene was ſacrificed to the ambition of her parent, and the hand of a Chriſtian princeſs was beſtowed on a ſectary of Mahomet; [A. D. 1346.] yet Orchan conſidered this alliance

liance only as ſubſervient to his religion and intereſt, and in the Genoeſe war he joined without a bluſh the enemies of his father-in-law.

In his laſt quarrel with John Palæologus, Cantacuzene invited and accepted the aid of Soliman, the ſon of Orchan, with ten thouſand horſe; the ſervice they might render in the civil wars of Romania, was more than balanced by the miſchief they perpetrated. [A. D. 1355.] The Cherſoneſus was inſenſibly occupied, and Gallipoli, the key of the Helleſpont, which had been ſhaken by an earthquake, was repaired and repeopled by the policy of Soliman. The bands of domeſtic alliance were diſſolved by the death of Cantacuzene; and his laſt advice fruitleſsly admoniſhed his countrymen to decline a raſh conteſt with the numbers, the valour, the diſcipline, and enthuſiaſm of the Moſlems.

A fall from his horſe proved fatal to the valiant Soliman, and the aged Orchan expired on the tomb of his ſon; [A. D. 1360.] but Amurath, the ſecond ſon, and who ſucceeded to the dominions of the Othman race, allowed the Greeks no time to rejoice in the death of their enemies. The province of Romania rather ſubmitted at his ſummons, than was ſubdued by his arms; and Amurath fixed on Hadrianople for the royal ſeat of his government and religion in Europe. On the Eaſt and the Weſt, Conſtantinople was ſurrounded by the ſame hoſtile monarchy; but the Turkiſh prince ſuſpended awhile the fate of the capital, and his pride was ſoothed by the humble attendance of the Grecian emperor and his four ſons. The deſtructive inroads of

Amurath were ſucceſsfully directed againſt the Bulgarians, Servians, Boſnians, and Albanians; and the warlike natives of theſe countries were ſoon converted into the moſt faithful ſupporters of the Ottoman greatneſs; according to the Mahometan law, the ſovereign was entitled to the fifth of the captives and the ſpoil, and the officers ſelected for his uſe the ſtouteſt and moſt beautiful of the Chriſtian youth; theſe were carefully inſtructed in religion and arms; and the new militia was conſecrated by a celebrated derviſh; ſtanding in the front of their ranks, he ſtretched the ſleeve of his gown over the foremoſt ſoldier, and pronounced theſe words: "Let them be called Janizaries (*Yeng* "*cheri*, or new ſoldiers): may their countenance be "ever bright! their hand victorious! their ſword "keen! may their ſpear always hang over the head of "their enemies! and whereſoever they go, may they "return with a *white face!*" Such was the origin of theſe celebrated troops; and the valour of the proſelytes finally cruſhed in the battle of Coſſova the league and independence of the Sclavonian tribes. But their ſwords could not defend their maſter from the dagger of deſpair; and as the conqueror walked over the field of victory, a Servian ſoldier ſtarted from the crowd of dead bodies, and Amurath was pierced in the belly with a mortal wound.

The epithet of *Ilderim*, or the lightning, expreſſed the character of Bajazet, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Amurath. Inceſſantly at the head of his armies, he invaded with impartial ambition the Chriſtian and the Mahometan princes of Europe and Aſia. He ſtripped his brother

brother emirs of their hereditary poſſeſſions; and the ancient kingdom of the Seljukians, after the conqueſt of Iconium, was revived in the Turkiſh dynaſty. In Europe his conqueſts were equally important; Macedonia, Thrace, and Theſſaly, acknowledged his authority; and his gallies commanded the Helleſpont, and ſecured the communication between Europe and Aſia. From the caliphs who ſerved in Egypt under the yoke of the Mamalukes, Bajazet condeſcended to accept a patent of ſultan; and deſirous of proving himſelf worthy of his new title, he invaded Hungary; the cauſe of Sigiſmond, the Hungarian king, was eſpouſed by the braveſt knights of France and Germany; but an hundred thouſand Chriſtians were defeated by Bajazet in the plains of Nicopolis. [A. D. 1396.] The greater part was ſlain, or driven into the Danube; John count of Nevers, and ſon of the duke of Burgundy, with twenty-four of the moſt conſiderable French nobles, were ranſomed; the remainder were beheaded; and the emperor Sigiſmond eſcaping to Conſtantinople, returned with difficulty to his exhauſted kingdom. In the pride of his victory, Bajazet boaſted that he would beſiege Buda, and that he would feed his horſe on the altar of St. Peter at Rome; but the menaces of the conqueror were averted, and his progreſs was checked, by a long and painful fit of the gout.

For thirty-ſix years the emperor Palæologus was the helpleſs and careleſs ſpectator of the public ruin. His eldeſt ſon Andronicus had formed a guilty intimacy with Sauzes, the ſon of Amurath, and both the youths had conſpired againſt the lives of their reſpective pa-

rents; their deſigns were diſcovered by Amurath, who deprived Sauzes of his ſight, and inſiſted Palæologus ſhould inflict a ſimilar puniſhment on his own ſon: the abject emperor obeyed, and involved his infant and innocent grandſon John, in the ſentence of his father. But the operation was ſo mildly performed, that the one retained the ſight of an eye, and the other was only diſfigured by the infirmity of ſquinting. The fidelity of Manuel, the ſecond ſon, was rewarded with the imperial crown; but the levity of the Greeks, in two years, raiſed the late criminal, and his injured ſon, to the throne, and confined the aged emperor and Manuel in a priſon; in another period of two years, thoſe princes effected their eſcape, and the claims of the contending parties were compromiſed by aſſigning to the elder Palæologus and Manuel the capital, and by allotting whatever remained beyond the walls to the younger Palæologus and his ſon John. By the amorous paſſions of the old monarch, Manuel was deprived of a blooming princeſs of Trebizond, and ſent to diſplay his valour in the camp and the wars of the ſultan; but the jealouſy of Bajazet was excited by a plan of fortifying Conſtantinople; the new works were demoliſhed at his peremptory command; this laſt mortification extinguiſhed the feeble life of the old emperor; [A. D. 1390.] and Manuel, on the firſt intelligence, eſcaped from the Turkiſh camp, to occupy the Byzantine throne.

That throne was diſputed by his nephew John of Selybria, whoſe guilty father was no more; and Bajazet, after concluding a treaty with Manuel, and breaking that treaty almoſt as ſoon as concluded, embraced

braced the cauſe of John, and inveſted the imperial city. Some French ſuccours enabled Manuel during a whole year to repel the Moſlems, but they ſoon returned with augmented numbers; the Greeks and their allies were incapable of withſtanding the torrent; and Manuel determined to implore in perſon the aſſiſtance of France, and leave his competitor on the throne; John was ſcarce introduced into the capital, before it was claimed by the Turkiſh ſultan as his own; and the refuſal of the new emperor could have delayed but a ſhort time the fate of the city, had not the rapid progreſs of Timour, or Tamerlane, ſummoned Bajazet to a conteſt with a more formidable enemy.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

ELEVATION OF TIMOUR, OR TAMERLANE, TO THE THRONE OF SAMARCAND—HIS CONQUESTS IN PERSIA, GEORGIA, TARTARY, RUSSIA, INDIA, SYRIA, AND ANATOLIA—HIS TURKISH WAR—DEFEAT AND CAPTIVITY OF BAJAZET—DEATH OF TIMOUR—CIVIL WAR OF THE SONS OF BAJAZET—RESTORATION OF THE TURKISH MONARCHY BY MAHOMET THE FIRST—SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY AMURATH THE SECOND.

TIMOUR, or Tamerlane, was a deſcendant of the noble tribe of Berlaſs; and in the aſcent of ſome generations, his branches are confounded, at leaſt by the females, with the imperial ſtem of Zingis. He was born forty miles to the ſouth of Samarcand, in the village of Sebzar, in the fruitful territory of Caſh, of which his fathers were the hereditary chiefs, as well as of ten thouſand horſe; but the domeſtic feuds of his countrymen had encouraged the khans of Caſhgar to invade Tranſoxiana with an army of Getes or Calmucks. Timour entered into action in the twelfth year of his age, and in the twenty-fifth ſtood forth as the deliverer of his country; but the chiefs who had engaged to ſupport him, preſerved, in the hour of danger, a cautious diſtance. Timour was compelled to retire to the Deſert with only ſixty horſemen, and in his retreat he repulſed and broke a thouſand Getes, who had preſumed to purſue him; but his followers

in

in the bloody action were reduced to ten; for ſixty-two days he was confined in a noiſome dungeon, and after extricating himſelf by his courage, he was urged by neceſſity, during ſome months, to embrace the life of a vagrant and outlaw. On his return to his country, he was ſucceſſively joined by parties of his confederates; and after ſome viciſſitudes of war, the ſuperior numbers of the Getes were finally driven from the kingdom of Tranſoxiana. The abilities of Timour inſenſibly reconciled his equals to his authority, and at the age of thirty-four, in a general diet, he was inveſted with *imperial* command, and reigned over Zagatai and the Eaſt. [A. D. 1370.] His victories in thirty-five campaigns will be briefly recapitulated.—I. in Perſia; II. Tartary; and III. India; and will cloſe with the intereſting narrative of the Ottoman war.

I. Perſia, from the Oxus to the Tigris, ſince the death of Abouſaid, the laſt of the deſcendants of Holagou, was left without a lawful ſovereign. [A. D. 1380—1393.] The Mogul invader was feebly and ſeparately oppoſed by the petty tyrants who, for forty years, had oppreſſed the people. The whole courſe of the Tigris and the Euphrates, from the mouth to the ſources of thoſe rivers, was reduced to the obedience of Timour; the cities of Shiraz, Bagdad, and Edeſſa, bowed to the yoke of the victor; his ſquadrons pierced the mountains of Georgia, and the Chriſtian prince of Tafflis became the friend and proſelyte of the indefatigable Muſſulman.

II. In

II. In the invaſion of Tartary, Timour was perhaps actuated by a juſt reſentment, and the Getes were doomed in their turn to experience the calamities of war, which they had inflicted on Tranſoxiana. From the conqueſt of Caſhgar, the armies of Zagatai overſpread Kipzak, or the weſtern Tartary; [A. D. 1370–1383.] purſued their flying enemies into the provinces of Ruſſia; and returning to the banks of the Don, the deſtruction of the city of Azoph, at the mouth of that river, atteſted the baleful preſence of Timour.

III. The conqueſt of Hindoſtan was at firſt oppoſed by the murmurs and diſcontents of the Tartar troops; but theſe were ſoon convinced, that the dangers of war were leſs dreadful than the diſpleaſure of their ſovereign. Timour was already informed by his ſpies of the weakneſs and the anarchy of Hindoſtan; and that the ſoubahs of the provinces deſpiſed and inſulted the imbecility of the ſultan Mahmood. The Mogul army conſiſted of ninety-two ſquadrons, each of a thouſand horſe; the mountains, between the Jihoon and the Indus, and which the Arabian geographers ſtyle the ſtony girdles of the earth, were the moſt formidable obſtacles, and numbers of the men and horſes periſhed in the ſnow; [A. D. 1398, 1399.] but the invincible Timour ſurmounted every difficulty; he croſſed the Indus, defeated, in the neighbourhood of Delhi, the army of Hindoſtan, and entered the capital in triumph. His ſoldiers were indulged in the bloody and tumultuous licence of a general maſſacre and pillage; and their leader advanced one hundred miles beyond Delhi,

paſſed

paſſed the Ganges, and returned, after this rapid campaign, along the ſkirts of the northern hills.

The ambitious deſigns of Bajazet haſtened the retreat of Timour, whoſe vigour of body and mind was not impaired, or abated, by ſixty-three years of inceſſant fatigue. He aſſembled at Iſpahan the troops of the provinces of Perſia, and his firſt operations were directed againſt the Chriſtians of Georgia, who were left the only alternative of tribute, or the koran; deſcending from the hills, Timour received the ambaſſadors of Bajazet, and entered into a correſpondence of mutual complaints and menaces. The firſt epiſtle of the Mogul emperor was not likely to reconcile the angry diſpoſition of the Turkiſh ſultan, whoſe family and nation he affected to deſpiſe. "What is the "foundation of thy inſolence and folly? Thou haſt "fought ſome battles in the woods of Anatolia: "contemptible trophies! Thou haſt obtained ſome "victories over the Chriſtians of Europe: thy ſword "was bleſſed by the apoſtle of God; and thy obedi-"ence to the precept of the koran, in waging war "againſt the Infidels, is the ſole conſideration that "prevents us from deſtroying thy country, the fron-"tier and bulwark of the Moſlem world. Be wiſe in "time; reflect; repent; and avert the thunder of "our vengeance, which is yet ſuſpended over thy "head. Thou art no more than a piſmire; why wilt "thou ſeek to provoke the elephants? Alas, they will "trample thee under foot." The ſoul of Bajazet was deeply ſtung by the language of ſuch unuſual contempt; after pouring forth on his competitor the epithets

epithets of thief and rebel of the Deſert, and magnifying his own forces and power, he deſcends to an inſult of a more domeſtic kind. "If I fly from thy arms," ſaid he, "may *my* wives be thrice divorced from my "bed; but if thou haſt not courage to meet me in "the field, mayeſt thou again receive *thy* wives, after "after they have thrice endured the embraces of a "ſtranger." Theſe expreſſions, which violated the delicacy of the haram, converted the political quarrel of the monarchs into perſonal reſentment; yet Timour, after the deſtruction of Sebaſte, a ſtrong city on the borders of Anatolia, turned aſide to the conqueſt of Syria and Egypt, and ſeemed to reſpect the pious warfare of Bajazet, who was ſtill engaged in the ſiege of Conſtantinople.

The defence of Syria chiefly conſiſted in the fame and diſcipline of the Mamalukes; and the Tartar invader was oppoſed near Aleppo by a numerous, but diſaffected army; ſeveral of the emirs had been ſeduced to betray their more loyal companions; the victorious Moguls entered with the fugitives the gates of Aleppo, and the citadel, which had been deemed impregnable, was ſurrendered by cowardice, or treachery. [A. D. 1400.] Timour affected, among the crowd of ſuppliants, to diſtinguiſh the doctors of the law; and, after ſome converſation on religion, he familiarly aſked the cadhi his age. "Fifty years." —"It would be the age of my eldeſt ſon: you ſee me "here," continued Timour, "a poor, lame, decrepit "mortal; yet by my arm has the Almighty been "pleaſed to ſubdue the kingdoms of Iran, Touran,

"and

"and the Indies. I am not a man of blood: and "God is my witneſs, that in all my wars I have "never been the aggreſſor, and that my enemies have "always been the authors of their own calamity;" yet during this language of moderation, the ſtreets of Aleppo ſtreamed with blood; and the natural cruelty of his ſoldiers was ſtimulated by the peremptory command of an adequate number of heads, which, according to his cuſtom, were curiouſly piled in columns and pyramids. Near Damaſcus the Tartars were more formidably encountered by the armies of Egypt, but the fortune of Timour ſtill prevailed; and the victorious muſſulman, who was zealouſly attached to the ſect of Ali, avenged the injuries of his ſon Hoſein, by reducing Damaſcus, which he had treacherouſly occupied, to aſhes. [A. D. 1401.] On his return, from the ſame pious motives, he abandoned Aleppo to the flames; and fully to diſplay his character, he erected on the ruins of Bagdad a pyramid of ninty thouſand heads.

After again viſiting Georgia, the Mogul emperor proclaimed his intention of marching againſt the Turkiſh ſultan, who had collected an army of four hundred thouſand horſe and foot, and was encamped near the ruins of Sebaſte. Timour, with eight hundred thouſand men, moved ſwiftly through the countries of Armenia and Anatolia; [A. D. 1402.] and, determined to fight in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, avoided the hoſtile camp, traverſed the ſalt Deſert and the river Halys, and inveſted Angora. Bajazet rapidly returned to the relief of that city, and the plains in the neighbourhood were the ſcene of a

memorable and decisive battle. [A. D. 1402. July 28.] The Turkish monarch displayed the qualities of a soldier and a chief; but the minds of his troops were alienated by his rigour and avarice; part of his allies had been tempted by the emissaries of Timour; his son Soliman too hastily withdrew from the field; and his heavy armed janizaries were confounded by the swift and artful evolutions of the Tartar cavalry; their valour was oppressed by heat, thirst, and the weight of numbers; and the unfortunate sultan, who was afflicted with the gout in his hands and feet, was overtaken in his attempt to fly, and was led a captive to the tent of Timour; the Mogul emperor graciously advanced to meet him, seated him by his side, and his address was a mixture of reproach and pity. "Alas!" said he, "the decree of fate is now accomplished by "your own fault; it is the web which you have "woven, the thorns of the tree which you have "planted. I wished to spare, and even to assist, "the champion of the Moslems: you braved "our threats; you despised our friendship; you "forced us to enter your kingdom with our invinci-"ble armies. Behold the event. Had you vanquish-"ed, I am not ignorant of the fate which you reserved "for myself and my troops. But I disdain to retali-"ate: your life and honour are secure; and I shall "express my gratitude to God by my clemency to "man." In the feast of victory, to which Bajazet was invited, the Mogul emperor placed a crown on his head, with a solemn assurance of restoring him with an increase of glory to the throne of his ancestors. But these generous declarations, which are extracted from

from the memorials of the conqueror, were probably the ſuggeſtions of a ſpirit harmonized by ſucceſs. The attempt of the vanquiſhed ſultan to eſcape by digging a mine under his tent, provoked the jealouſy of the Mogul; the Turkiſh annals unanimouſly agree that the unfortunate Bajazet was confined in an iron cage, and reduced, in this humiliating reſtraint, to follow the perpetual marches of the victor, [A. D. 1403. March.] till his ſtrength and ſpirits ſunk under the accumulated preſſure of ſeverity and inſult.

On the defeat of Bajazet, the kingdom of Anatolia immediately ſubmitted; and Mirza Mehemmed Sultan, the eldeſt of the grandſons of Timour, ſummoned, and was admitted into Bourſa; but the avarice of the Tartars was diſappointed; and Soliman in his flight had already paſſed over to Europe with the royal treaſure. The grandſon of Timour advanced to Nice, and the progreſs of the Moguls was only ſtopped by the waves of the Propontis. The emperor himſelf reduced, in fourteen days, Smyrna, which for ſeven years had been defended by the Rhodian knights againſt the arms of Bajazet; and the invincible armies and boundleſs ambition of Timour might aſpire to the conqueſt and converſion of the kingdoms of the Weſt, which already trembled at his name.

But the lord of ſo many myriads of horſe, was not maſter of a ſingle galley; and the narrow ſea which rolled between the two continents of Europe and Aſia, was defended by the ſhips and fortifications of the Chriſtians and Turks, who forgot the difference of religion, to act with union and firmneſs in the common cauſe.

cauſe. While they cautiouſly ſecured the paſſages of the Boſphorus, they ſoothed the pride, and gratified the avarice of the conqueror by flattery and preſents; Soliman conſented to hold by the patent of the Mogul emperor, the kingdom of Romania, which he already poſſeſſed; and the Byzantine monarch ſubmitted to pay the ſame tribute as had been extorted by the menaces of the Turkiſh ſultan. Infatiate of victory, Timour already directed his attention towards the invaſion of China; and while he himſelf ſlowly returned to his capital, after a campaign of four years and nine months, he diſpatched an army beyond the Sihoon, to ſubdue the Pagan Calmucks and Tartars, to form magazines in the Deſerts, and to open for his march the road towards Pekin. After a few months ſpent at Samarcand in domeſtic and internal regulations, the veteran victor reſumed his arms; he had already advanced three hundred miles from his capital, when he was attacked by a fever; the indiſcreet uſe of iced water probably accelerated his fate; [A. D. 1405, April 1.] and the lord of Aſia expired in the neighbourhood of Otrar, in the ſeventieth year of his age, thirty-five years after he had aſcended the throne of Zagatai. After his death a fragment of the empire was upheld with ſome glory by Sharokh, his youngeſt ſon: but before the expiration of a century, Tranſoxiana and Perſia were trampled upon by the Uzbeks and the Turkmans; and the race of Timour was alone perpetuated in the deſcendants of a hero, who fled from the arms of the invaders to the conqueſt of Hindoſtan.

Of

Of the five ſons of Bajazet, Muſtapha had diſappeared in the battle of Angora, and his name was ſucceſſively claimed by above thirty different pretenders; and Iſa, Mouſa, Soliman, and Mahomet, diſputed, with the ſword, the remnant of their father's dominions; but the genius, or fortune, of Mahomet ſoon gained the aſcendant; and the lives and kingdoms of his brothers were gradually extinguiſhed by his, or their own, arms. From the caſtle of Amaſia he watched the moment of enterpriſe; with his ſuperior force oppreſſed Iſa; and declared himſelf the avenger of Soliman, who was ſurpriſed and ſlain by the ambition of Mouſa. The conteſt between the two brothers ended in the triumph of Mahomet, and the eight years of his ſole and peaceful reign were engaged in eſtabliſhing on a firmer baſis the fabric of the Ottoman empire. [A. D. 1413. 1421.] His laſt care was the choice of two vizirs, Bajazet and Ibrahim, to guard the youth of his ſon Amurath. Bajazet was the victim of a new war kindled in Europe by the name of Muſtapha; but the more fortunate Ibrahim extinguiſhed the pretender, and delivered the Ottoman throne from the dangers of domeſtic contention.

Amidſt their civil conflicts, the more prudent Turks had continually recommended and diligently forwarded the re-union of the empire; the vigilance and activity of the Chriſtians might have precluded them from attaining this important object; and had a confederate fleet occupied the ſtraights of Gallipoli, the Ottomans, in Europe at leaſt, would have been moſt probably annihilated; but the improvident Chriſtians either en-

joyed their preſent reſpite, without looking forward to futurity, or were tempted by a momentary intereſt to promote the ſucceſs of the permanent and common enemy of their religion. A colony of Genoeſe, planted at Phocæa, on the Ionian coaſt, while they enjoyed the emoluments of a monopoly of allum, conſented to remain the peaceable tributaries of the Turkiſh government. Adorno, the Genoeſe governor, had, in the civil diſſentions of the Ottomans, embraced with ardour the party of Amurath; and undertook, with ſeven ſtout gallies, to tranſport him to Europe. Some praiſe is due to the magnanimity of the ſultan, who with five hundred guards embarked on board the admiral's ſhip, manned by eight hundred of the braveſt Franks; nor can we withhold our approbation from Adorno, who diſcharged his truſt with exemplary fidelity. In a few years the venal ſervice was properly recompenſed by the ruin of the colony of Phocæa.

When Manuel abdicated the government of Conſtantinople, he expected the hourly ſubverſion of the church and ſtate; he was ſurpriſed by the pleaſing and ſucceſſive intelligence of the retreat, overthrow, and the captivity of Bajazet; he immediately ſailed from Modon in the Morea; was admitted into, and reſtored to the throne of Conſtantinople, and baniſhed his competitor John to the iſle of Léſbos. Soliman, the ſon of Bajazet, apprehenſive leſt the Greeks ſhould introduce the Moguls into Europe, ſolicited the alliance, and implored the protection of Manuel. He offered to hold the government of Romania as the

gift of the emperor, and engaged for the reſtitution of Theſſalonica, with the moſt important places along the Strymon, the Propontis, and the Black Sea. Theſe terms, ſo ignominious to the Moſlems, were productive of the enmity of Mouſa, and the Turks renewed their hoſtile attempts on Conſtantinople; they were repulſed by ſea and land; but the imprudence of Manuel, who ought carefully to have cheriſhed the diſcord of the Ottomans, united him with Mahomet, the moſt formidable of the ſons of Bajazet; he tranſported the ſultan acroſs the Boſphorus, entertained him in his capital, and by a ſally from the walls opened the road to the conqueſt of Romania. The gratitude of Mahomet preſerved the treaty inviolate, and in his laſt moments he bequeathed his two younger ſons to the protection of the Greek emperor; but the divan pronounced the clauſe injurious to the national honour and religion, and declared that the royal youths ſhould never be abandoned to the cuſtody of a Chriſtian dog. On this refuſal the councils of the Byzantine court were divided; but the aged emperor reluctantly yielded to the ardour of his ſon John. The real, or falſe Muſtapha, had been long detained as a captive and hoſtage at Conſtantinople; he was now releaſed, after ſubſcribing a treaty by which he engaged to deliver Gallipoli as the price of his freedom; but he had ſcarce aſcended the throne of Romania, before he declared to the ambaſſadors of Manuel, that he had rather be accuſed of violating his oath, that of delivering a Muſſulman city into the hands of the Infidels.

The negociation of the Greek emperor with Muſtapha aroused the reſentment of Amurath, and the victory of that prince over his rival was followed by the ſiege of Conſtantinople. [A. D. 1422.] The hopes of plunder and martyrdom attracted a crowd of volunteers; and two hundred thouſand Turks encompaſſed the city of Conſtantine: but a domeſtic revolt recalled Amurath from the walls of the Byzantine capital to the protection of Bourſa; and while his faithful Moſlems extended his dominions in Europe and Aſia, he ſuſpended, for thirty years, the fate of the Byzantine empire; [A. D. 1428.] the aged Manuel, oppreſſed with years, reſigned his ſceptre and breath, without beholding, though not without foreſeeing, the ruin of his houſe and the downfall of his religion; and his ſon John Palæologus, was permitted to aſcend the vacant throne on the annual payment of three hundred thouſand aſpers, and the ceſſion of almoſt all he held beyond the gates of the capital.

Although the origin of the Ottomans is obſcure, yet their ſacred right was ſoon implanted in the minds of their ſubjects; and their invariable ſucceſſion has been confirmed by five centuries, while the tranſient dynaſties of Aſia have been continually ſubverted by a crafty vizir, or a victorious general. The education and diſcipline of the Turks may be conſidered as the chief ſource of their attachment and ſubmiſſion; the fifth ſlave had been rigorouſly exacted from the time of the firſt Amurath, to recruit the Ottoman armies; and when the fifth of the captives was diminiſhed by conqueſt, the fifth of the Chriſtian children

children was ſubſtituted in their place. Theſe, at the age of twelve years, were torn from their parents, and clothed, taught, and maintained for the ſervice of the public. According to their various abilities, or inclination, they were allotted to the exerciſes of war, or the ſtudy of the koran, and the knowledge of the Arabic and Perſian tongue. Without intereſt, without connections, and without friends, they were abſolutely dependant on the nod of the ſultan, and it remained for him to ſelect with judgment a conſtant ſucceſſion of brave and able generals, and of wiſe and virtuous miniſters.

At the critical moment, when the decided ſuperiority of the Turks ſeemed to have extinguiſhed in the Greeks all hopes of preſervation, the invention of gunpowder, could the ſecret have been circumſcribed within the pale of the church, might have checked the victorious progreſs of the diſciples of Mahomet; but it was ſoon diſcloſed to the Turks; and the ſultans had ſenſe to adopt, and wealth to reward, the talents of a Chriſtian engineer. It is moſt likely the Genoeſe firſt imparted the deſtructive mixture to Amurath, when they tranſported him from Aſia to Europe, and joined his arms in the conqueſt of Hadrianople. The cannon that he uſed at the ſiege of Conſtantinople were probably caſt by their hands; and though the firſt attempt proved unſucceſsful, yet in the laſt attack fourteen batteries thundered againſt the devoted walls of the city; and the artillery of Conſtantinople was controlled and ſilenced by the ſuperior fire of the Moſlems.

CHAPTER XLIX.

APPLICATIONS OF THE EASTERN EMPERORS TO THE POPES—VISITS TO THE WEST, OF JOHN THE FIRST, MANUEL, AND JOHN THE SECOND, PALÆOLOGOS—UNION OF THE GREEK AND LATIN CHURCHES—SCHISM OF THE GREEKS AND LATINS—REIGN AND CHARACTER OF AMURATH THE SECOND—CRUSADE AND DEFEAT OF LADISLAUS, KING OF HUNGARY—JOHN HUNIADES — SCANDERBEG — CONSTANTINE PALÆOLOGUS, LAST EMPEROR OF THE EAST.

WHENEVER the Byzantine princes were encompaſſed with difficulties, or preſſed by dangers, they courted the alliance, and implored the protection, of the pope and the Latins; but as ſoon as the hour of diſtreſs was over, they avowed their genuine hatred and contempt for the ſchiſmatics of the Weſt. The firſt Palæologus, by an union with the Latin church, had averted the menaced thunders of the vatican, and the terrors of a hoſtile cruſade; but his ſubjects, his favourites, and even his own relations, conſpired againſt his peace, and reviled him as a heretic and apoſtate. The elder Andronicus throughout his life firmly maintained the profeſſion and principles of orthodoxy; but the younger ſought in the Weſt an alliance and ſupport againſt the rapid progreſs of the Turks, who had already atchieved the conqueſt of Bithynia. His negociations were fruſtrated by the ſituation and character of the reigning princes. The kings

kings of France and Naples declined the danger and glory of a cruſade; and pope Benedict the Twelfth, immerſed in ſloth and wine, liſtened coldly to the ſuſpicious language of an union which was to be preceded by a pecuniary and military ſuccour.

Cantacuzene, as ſoon as he had ſubdued his domeſtic enemies, ſolicited and received the approbation of the pope to the introduction of his Moſlem allies into Europe, and to the marriage of his daughter with a Turkiſh prince; pope Clement the Sixth acknowledged the hard neceſſity of the emperor; he encouraged the idea of an union and a cruſade, and with the Greek ambaſſadors, two Latin biſhops returned as the miniſters of the Roman pontiff. But the conferences of the emperor and the nuncios were only filled with mutual praiſes and promiſes, by which both parties were amuſed, and neither could be deceived. The death of Clement, and the different temper of his ſucceſſor, baniſhed even the hope of ſpiritual union, and Cantacuzene himſelf ſoon after was obliged to retire from the throne to the cloyſter.

John Palæologus, alarmed by foreign invaſion and domeſtic inſurrection, in the hopes of foreign aid, ſubſcribed a treaty, and ſubmitted to an oath of fidelity and obedience to the Roman pontiffs. He ſtipulated in return the ſupport of fifteen gallies, with five hundred men at arms, and a thouſand archers, to ſerve againſt his Chriſtian and Muſſulman enemies; but the treaty was never executed; the humiliating conceſſions of the ſovereign were involved in ſecrecy, and the

Roman ſuccours, and the Greek ſubmiſſion, were each neglected or withheld.

But when the Turkiſh torrent had ſwept away Adrianople and Romania, and was only reſiſted by the walls of Conſtantinople, the deſponding Palæologus embarked himſelf for Venice, with the reſolution of proſtrating himſelf at the feet of the pope, and of arouſing by the imperial preſence the cold compaſſion of the princes of the Weſt. Urban the Fifth, a prelate of a mild and virtuous character, encouraged the pilgrimage of the Greek prince, who acknowledged the ſupremacy of the Roman pontiff and the double proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, and was in return entertained with attention and reſpect. But in vain did the ſucceſſor of St. Peter endeavour to rekindle the zeal of the Weſtern powers in favour of his proſelyte. The different princes were cold in the general cauſe, and warmly engaged in their own domeſtic quarrels; and the diſconſolate Palæologus found his return impeded by the Venetians, who detained him as their ſecurity for ſeveral ſums which he had borrowed from the citizens of the republic. His eldeſt ſon Andronicus regarded his father's captivity with ſecret pleaſure; but his ſecond ſon Manuel immediately ſold all he poſſeſſed, embarked for Venice, relieved his father, and pledged his own freedom to be reſponſible for the debt.

When Manuel aſcended the imperial throne he alſo determined, by the advice of the French marſhal Boucicault, to viſit and implore the ſupplies of the courts

courts of the Weſt. At Venice, Paris, and London, he was pitied, praiſed, and feaſted; but the republic of Venice was attentive alone to her commercial intereſts; the French monarch was repeatedly afflicted with furious fits of inſanity, and the reigns of government were alternately held and inceſſantly diſputed by the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy; and Henry of Lancaſter could not withdraw his perſon and forces from a throne continually aſſailed by conſpiracy and rebellion. Yet Manuel on his return enjoyed one conſolation, that in this trying ſituation he had neither degraded his dignity, nor bartered his religion.

The victories of Timour, and the diſſentions of the ſons of Bajazet, allowed Manuel to reign ſucceſſive years in the maintenance of the national religion, and in peace and proſperity; but when Amurath inveſted the walls of Conſtantinople, Manuel was readily reconciled to the Roman pontiff, and ſoon converted to the double proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt. A friendly intercourſe of letters and embaſſies was revived between the Eaſt and the Weſt, and the ſecret intentions of the Byzantine monarch were unfolded to his colleague and ſucceſſor, John Palæologus, in the preſence of the hiſtorian Phranza, his favourite chamberlain. "Our laſt reſource," ſaid Manuel, "againſt "the Turks, is their fear of our union with the La- "tins, of the warlike nations of the Weſt, who may arm "for our relief and their deſtruction. As often as you "are threatened by the miſcreants, preſent this danger "before their eyes. Propoſe a council; conſult on "the

"the means; but ever delay and avoid the convoca-
"tion of an aſſembly, which cannot tend either to our
"ſpiritual or temporal emolument. The Latins are
"proud; the Greeks are obſtinate; neither party will
"recede or retract; and the attempt of a perfect
"union will confirm the ſchiſm, alienate the churches,
"and leave us, without hope or defence, at the mercy
"of the Barbarians." Impatient of this ſalutary leſ-
ſon, the royal youth aroſe from his ſeat, and depart-
ed in ſilence; and the wiſe monarch thus continued
his diſcourſe to Phranza. "My ſon deems himſelf a
"great and heroic prince; but alas! our miſerable
"age does not afford ſcope for heroiſm or greatneſs.
"His daring ſpirit might have ſuited the happier times
"of our anceſtors; but the preſent ſtate requires not
"an emperor, but a cautious ſteward of the laſt relics
"of our fortunes. Well do I remember the lofty ex-
"pectations which he built on our alliance with Muſ-
"tapha; and much do I fear that his raſh courage
"will urge the ruin of our houſe, and that even reli-
"gion may precipitate our downfall."

The long life of Manuel was terminated in the ſeventy-eight year of his age, and in the monaſtic profeſſion. His eldeſt ſon John ſucceeded to the Byzantine throne; his ſecond, Andronicus, was inveſted with the principally of Theſſalonica, and died ſoon after the final conqueſt of that city by the Turks; and the four younger, Theodore and Conſtantine, Demetrius and Thomas, received from their father the Peloponneſus or Morea; but their ſtrength was waſted

in

in domeſtic conteſts; and the leaſt ſucceſsful of the rivals were reduced to a life of dependance in the Byzantine palace.

The avarice and ſenſual vices of ſucceſſive Roman pontiffs had oppreſſed and ſcandaliſed the clergy themſelves; and the council of Baſil declared the repreſentatives of the church was inveſted with a divine and ſpiritual juriſdiction over all Chriſtians, without even excepting the pope. The reſolution of the ſynod was ſupported by the emperor of Germany, the king of France, and the duke of Milan; the fathers of Baſil invited the emperor and patriarch of Conſtantinople to unite with an aſſembly which had the confidence of the Weſtern princes; they agreed to defray his travelling expences; to remit an immediate ſum of eight thouſand ducats for the accommodation of the Greek clergy; and in his abſence to grant a ſupply of ten thouſand ducats, with three hundred archers, and ſome gallies, for the protection of Conſtantinople. But Eugenius, who then filled the chair of St. Peter, was ſenſible of the importance of the emperor of the Greeks. He ſolicited his friendſhip; and to tranſport the Byzantine prince to Ferrara, which city was fixed on for the meeting of the ſynod, he diſpatched nine gallies, with the perſuaſive argument of fifteen thouſand ducats, and added the moſt ſplendid promiſes. Palæologus recollected the advice of his father, and heſitated. Sigiſmond, the emperor of Germany, diſſuaded him from the unſeaſonable adventure; and Amurath, who was apprehenſive of the union of the Chriſtians, offered from his own treaſures to relieve the

the diſtreſs of the Byzantine Court; but at the ſame time he magnanimouſly declared that Conſtantinople ſhould be ſecure and inviolate during the abſence of her ſovereign. The Greek emperor diſmiſſed an ambiguous anſwer to the council of Nice, and embarked in the Roman gallies, with the aged patriarch Joſeph, and a various retinue of biſhops and miniſters, of monks and philoſophers.

The preſence of the emperor added dignity to the party of Eugenius, and the fathers of Baſil injured their cauſe by the violence of their proceedings. The Latins, after the labour of nine months, and the debates of twenty-five ſeſſions, attained the advantage and glory of the reunion of the Greeks. Four principal queſtions had been agitated between the two churches. I. The uſe of unleavened bread in the communion of Chriſt's body. II. The nature of purgatory. III. The ſupremacy of the pope. And IV. The ſingle or double proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt. The firſt and ſecond, as leaſt important, and moſt doubtful, were left to the cuſtoms of the different countries, and to the proof of Hereafter; the third was qualified by the vague definition, that his juriſdiction ſhould be exerciſed agreeable to the holy canons; but in regard to the fourth, it was agreed that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, as from one principle and ſubſtance; that he proceeds *by* the ſon, being of the ſame nature and ſubſtance, and that he proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, by one *ſpiration* and production. The preliminary treaty may be more eaſily underſtood. The expences of the Greeks in their re-

turn

turn home were to be defrayed by the pope, who engaged to maintain two gallies and three hundred ſoldiers for the defence of Conſtantinople; to oblige the pilgrims of Jeruſalem to touch at that port; to furniſh as often as required, ten gallies for a year, or twenty for ſix months; and to ſolicit the princes of Europe, if the emperor ſhould require the aid of land-forces.

In the ſynod of Florence, the Greeks and Latins had embraced, and ſubſcribed, and promiſed; but theſe ſigns of friendſhip were perfidious and fruitleſs. The ſubjects of the Latins complained that the union would be the inſtrument of oppreſſion, and the Greeks received their emperor on his return with a general murmur of devout diſcontent. They had been flattered with an aſſurance of a powerful and immediate ſuccour, and depended on the ſcience and orthodoxy of their clergy for an eaſy victory over the ignorant prelates of the Weſt; doubly diſappointed, they openly expreſſed their reſentment; and the ſubſcribing eccleſiaſtics, inſtead of juſtifying their conduct, deplored their weakneſs. "Alas! we have been ſeduced by "diſtreſs, by fraud, and by the hopes and fears of a "tranſitory life. The hand that had ſigned the union "ſhould be cut off; and the tongue that has pro-"nounced the Latin creed deſerves to be torn from "the root," was the anſwer to the reproachful queſtion, what had been the event of their Italian ſynod? While Eugenius triumphed in the union of the Greeks, his party was contracted to the palace of Conſtantinople; the zeal of Palæologus was already cooled;

cooled; nor was he inclined to hazard his life and crown in ſupport of the articles he had ſubſcribed. His brother was ready to draw his ſword in the defence of the national religion; and the Turkiſh ſultan beheld with a jealous eye the apparent reconciliation of the Greeks and Latins.

The character of that prince has been minutely drawn by the hiſtorian of the Ottoman empire. "Sultan Murad, or Amurath, lived forty-nine, and reigned thirty years, ſix months, and eight days. He was a juſt and valiant prince, of a great ſoul, patient of labours, learned, merciful, religious, charitable; a lover and encourager of the ſtudious, and of all who excelled in any art or ſcience; a good emperor, and a great general. No man obtained more or greater victories than Amurath: Belgrade alone withſtood his attacks. Under his reign the ſoldier was ever victorious, the citizen rich and ſecure. If he ſubdued any country, his firſt care was to build moſchs and caravanſeras, hoſpitals and colleges. Every year he gave a thouſand pieces of gold to the ſons of the prophet; and ſent two thouſand five hundred to the religious perſons of Mecca, Medina, and Jeruſalem." But the moſt ſingular feature in the character of Amurath is his repeated abdication. [A. D. 1442.] At forty he reſigned the ſceptre to his ſon, and retired to the ſociety of hermits and derviſhes, who, contrary to the genius of the founder, had crept into the Muſſulman religion. From the company and penance of theſe fanatics, he was called by the unanimous wiſhes of the nation,

nation, and by the more doubtful invitation of his ſon to repel the Hungarian invaſion. [A. D. 1444.] He fought and conquered, and again retired to pray, to faſt, and to mortify his body; but the companions of his victory diſdained the youthful hand which held in his abſence the ſceptre. The ſtreets of Hadrianople were filled with tumult; and the unbridled licence of the Janizaries once more ſummoned Amurath from his pious occupations. The haughty troops confeſſed the voice of their leader; and the reluctant ſultan was compelled to ſuſtain the burthen of government till he was releaſed by the angel of death. [A. D. 1448.]

An apprehenſion leſt the Turks who approached, might invade the borders of Italy, reminded the Roman pontiff, Eugenius, of his promiſe to his Greek brethren; but the princes of Europe no longer flocked with impatience to the ſtandard of holy wars; and even the ſuggeſtions of policy were diſregarded by the moſt powerful nations of the Weſt. The German emperor, Frederic the Third, was without power and without ability; The ſtrength of France and England was impaired by their long and implacable hoſtilities. Yet Philip, duke of Burgundy, encouraged his ſubjects to oppoſe, at their own expence, the progreſs of the Moſlems; and the republics of Venice and Genoa joined their fleets to the ſtandard of St. Peter. But the moſt important acceſſion were the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, united under the authority of Ladiſlaus, and animated by the valour and name of the heroic John Huniades. The Roman legate ſcattered with a liberal hand a treaſure of pardons and indulgences;

dulgences; the gallant ſpirits of France and Germany enliſted individually under the holy banner; the Greek emperor engaged to guard the Boſphorus; the ſultan of Caramania announced the retreat of Amurath, and a powerful diverſion in Anatolia; and if the fleets of the Weſt had occupied the ſtraights of the Helleſpont, the Ottoman monarchy muſt have been diſſevered and deſtroyed.

At the head of his confederate ſubjects, Ladiſlaus advanced into Bulgaria, and defeated two Turkiſh armies; thirteen baſhaws, nine ſtandards, and four thouſand captives, graced his triumphal entry into Buda; but the moſt unequivocal proof of the importance of his victories was a deputation from the divan to ſolicit for peace, to reſtore Servia, to ranſom the priſoners, and to evacuate the Hungarian frontiers. The terms were accepted, and the treaty was already ſigned, and ſanctioned by a mutual oath, when intelligence was received, that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanian, and Thrace by the Greek emperor; that the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy, were maſters of the Helleſpont; and that the allies impatiently expected the arrival of the victorious army of Ladiſlaus: "And is it thus," exclaimed the cardinal legate, who had ſullenly obſerved the late negociation, "that "you will deſert their expectations and your own "fortune? It is to them, to your God, and your "fellow-chriſtians, that you have pledged your faith; "and that prior obligation annihilates a raſh and ſa- "crilegious vow to the enemies of Chriſt. His vicar "on earth is the Roman pontiff, without whoſe ſanc- "tion

" tion you can neither promiſe nor perform. In his " name I abſolve your perjury, and ſanctify your " arms. Follow my footſteps in the paths of glory " and ſalvation; and if ye ſtill have ſcruples, devolve " on my head the puniſhment and the ſin." The pernicious caſuiſtry of the Roman prelate was applauded, and ſeconded with inconſiderate levity; war was again proclaimed, and Ladiſlaus reſumed his arms in the deluſive hope of delivering the Eaſtern church from the dominion of the diſciples of Mahomet; but the French and Germans had departed on the firſt intimation of peace; the Poles were exhauſted by a diſtant warfare; and in this ſecond expedition the forces of the Hungarian monarch ſcarce amounted to twenty thouſand men. They directed their march through a level country, along the ſhores of the Euxine; but when they arrived at Warna, near the ſea coaſt, inſtead of being joined, as they fondly expected, by their allies, they were alarmed by the approach of Amurath, who had relinquiſhed his ſolitude, and had paſſed over with the forces of Aſia to the defence of Europe.

The imputation of cowardice and treachery has been fixed on the Greek emperor and the Genoeſe, who engaged to guard, and who betrayed, the paſſage of the Boſphorus and Helleſpont. The ſultan preſſed forwards from Hadrianople at the head of ſixty thouſand men, and when the Chriſtians diſcerned the order and ſuperior numbers of the Turks, even Huniades adviſed an haſty retreat; but the king was reſolved to conquer or to die; the Turkiſh ſquadrons on the

right and left were charged and diſperſed; but the raſh victors were carried away by the heat of the purſuit; and the centre, in which Ladiſlaus fought, was oppreſſed and broken by the Janizaries, led on by Amurath in perſon. If we may credit the Ottoman annals, the horſe of the Hungarian king was pierced by the javelin of the Turkiſh ſultan; [A. D. 1444.] the fallen prince was inſtantly tranſfixed by the ſpears of the infantry; and as a Turkiſh ſoldier proclaimed, "Hungarians, behold the head of your king!" his troops ſaw, trembled, and fled. Huniades on his return from his headlong purſuit, deplored his irreparable error, and the unfortunate fate of his ſovereign; his courage and conduct preſerved the remnant of his Walachian cavalry; but ten thouſand Chriſtians periſhed in the diſaſtrous field of Warna, and among theſe, the leaſt to be lamented was the cardinal Julian, who had adviſed the violation of the treaty.

The public opinion called to the adminiſtration of Hungary, during the minority of Ladiſlaus of Auſtria the nominal king, John Huniades; and in a reign of twelve years he diſplayed the policy of a ſtateſman, and the valour of a warrior. His courage had been early ſignaliſed in Italy, and his reputation was confirmed by the defence of the Hungarian borders, and by three victories over the Turks in the ſame year; four years after the battle of Warna, he penetrated into the heart of Bulgaria; and till the third day withſtood, in the plain of Coſſova, the repeated attacks of a Turkiſh army four times more numerous than his own. The defence of Belgrade, againſt the powers and perſon

perſon of Mahomet the Second, was the laſt and moſt glorious action of his life; and the Turks, even after they had entered the town, were compelled to retreat by the undaunted valour of Huniades. [A. D. 1456.] He ſurvived to enjoy his triumph about a month; the gratitude of the Hungarians, on the firſt vacancy raiſed to the throne his ſon Matthias Corvinus, who in a long and proſperous reign blended the glory of a conqueror with the piety of a ſaint.

But a more formidable champion in Albania oppoſed the progreſs of the Ottoman arms, aſſerted the honour of the Chriſtian name, and delayed the ruin of the Greek empire. John of Caſtriot, the father of Scanderberg, was the hereditary prince of a ſmall diſtrict of Albania, and, unable to contend with the ſultan, delivered as the pledges of his fidelity, his four ſons, who were educated in the Mahometan religion, and trained in the exerciſe of arms. The three elder periſhed without reputation, though not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. But George Caſtriot ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage and ſtrength; and *Iſkender* Beg (Scanderbeg) or the lord Alexander, attained the favour of the ſultan Amurath. The loſs of his father's principality was compenſated by the command of a thouſand horſe, and he ſerved with honour in the wars of Europe and Aſia; whatever ſenſe he might entertain of his father's wrongs, whatever might be his ſecret inclinations towards Chriſtianity, it was not till the age of forty that he openly avowed his religious ſentiments, and broke the chain of his ſlavery. While he commanded the van-guard of the Turkiſh

army, he privately negociated with Huniades, and amidſt the tumult of a defeat, occaſioned by his own deſertion, he extorted by his dagger from the reis effendi, or principal ſecretary, a patent for the government of Albania. With ſome bold companions, to whom he had revealed his deſign, he eſcaped from the field of battle to his paternal mountains. No ſooner had he poſſeſſed himſelf, by means of the royal mandate, of the fortreſs of Croya, than he diſdained any further diſſimulation, and invited the Albanians, a martial race, to join the ſtandard of religion and freedom. [A. D. 1443.] The Ottoman garriſons were indulged in the choice of martyrdom or baptiſm; and in the aſſembly of the eſtates of Epirus, Scanderbeg was elected general of the Turkiſh war. Under his conduct, the Albanians believed themſelves, and became invincible. His ſtanding militia conſiſted only of eight thouſand horſe and ſeven thouſand foot; but on the firſt approach of an enemy, the blaze of the beacons ſummoned the warlike youth of the nation to their different poſts. During twenty-three years, he baffled the powers of the Ottoman empire, though commanded by two of the greateſt and moſt enterpriſing princes. Amurath entered Albania at the head of his valiant janizaries; but, after a fruitleſs ſiege, he was compelled to retire from the walls of Croya; and the diſappointment contributed perhaps to ſhorten his days; Mahomet the Second condeſcended, by his lieutenants, to negociate a truce with the Albanian prince, and to acknowledge his independence; but before his death Scanderbeg ſeems to have been oppreſſed by the irreſiſtible

irreſiſtible weight of the Turks; his reſources were nearly exhauſted; he was reduced to demand of Pius the Second a refuge in the eccleſiaſtical dominions, and he expired a fugitive at Leſſus, on the Venetian territory. [A. D. 1467.] His infant ſon was ſaved amidſt the deſtruction of his country; and his blood ſtill flows in the nobleſt families of Naples; a colony of the Albaneſe obtained a ſettlement in Calabria, and they preſerve at this day the language and manners of their anceſtors.

The paſſage of the Turks over the Boſphorus had expoſed the character of John Palæologus to ſuſpicion, and he expired four years after the diſaſterous battle of Warna; [A. D. 1448.] of his five brothers, Andronicus was dead, and Iſidore had embraced the monaſtic profeſſion; Conſtantine, Demetrius, and Thomas, were the remaining princes of the royal family; of theſe, the firſt and laſt were diſtant in the Morea; but Demetrius was already poſſeſſed of the adjacent territory of Selybria, and in the ſuburbs, at the head of a party; his claim was built on the weak foundation of his being born after his father aſcended the throne, and that he was the eldeſt ſon of his reign; his pretenſions were oppoſed by the empreſs-mother; and the ſenate and ſoldiers, the clergy and the people, were unanimous in the ſupport of Conſtantine. An embaſſy to claim the protection of Hadrianople, reveals the weakneſs of the Greek, and proclaims the ſupremacy of the Turkiſh empire. Amurath readily acknowledged the ſuperior claims of the eldeſt ſon, and diſmiſſed the ambaſſador with ſplendid gifts and his

gracious approbation. In the ſpring, Conſtantine ſailed from the Morea, eſcaped the doubtful encounter of a Turkiſh ſquadron, and landed at Conſtantinople amidſt the acclamations of his ſubjects. To his brothers Demetrius and Thomas he reſigned the poſſeſſion of the Morea, and endeavoured, by the frail ſecurity of oaths and embraces, to eſtabliſh between them a ſincere and permanent friendſhip; their union might have delayed, their diſcord invited the dangerous aid of Mahomet, and haſtened their final ruin.

The firſt care of Conſtantine, after he had eſtabliſhed his authority, was to ſeek in a conſort an honourable and advantageous alliance. A daughter of the doge of Venice had been propoſed, but the Byzantine nobles repreſented the inferior condition of an elective magiſtrate to an hereditary monarch; and in the diſtreſs of Conſtantinople, the chief of that powerful republic was not unmindful of the affront. Phranza, the hiſtorian, was diſpatched to the courts of Trebizond and Georgia, and after an embaſſy of two years, decided in favour of a Georgian princeſs, whoſe father offered a portion of fifty-ſix thouſand, and an annual penſion of five thouſand, ducats. The miniſter on his return was received with confidence and friendſhip by his ſovereign, who ratified the treaty, and diſcloſed to his faithful ſervant his inmoſt thoughts and deſigns; he complained of the arrogance of Lucas Notaras, the great admiral, who affected in public and private to controul his ſentiments and actions; he propoſed to diſpatch Phranza in the enſuing ſpring to engage his brothers to ſolicit the alliance of the Weſt; thence he

was

was to proceed to Cyprus on a particular commiſſion; and laſtly, the ambaſſador was to direct his courſe to Georgia, to receive and conduct the future Empreſs; but while Conſtantine meditated theſe deſigns, Amurath was no more; Mahomet had ſucceeded to the Ottoman throne; and the various negociations of the Greek emperor were intercepted by a Turkiſh war, which involved his family and empire in final ruin.

CHAPTER L.

REIGN AND CHARACTER OF MAHOMET THE SECOND—SIEGE, ASSAUT, AND FINAL CONQUEST, OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS—DEATH OF CONSTANTINE PALÆOLOGUS.

MAHOMET, during the life of his father, had twice poſſeſſed, and as often reſigned, the Ottoman ſceptre; [A. D. 1451.] he was entruſted with the government of Magneſia, when he received the unexpected intelligence of the death of Amurath, and his rapid return to Hadrianople awed the mutinous diſpoſition of the janizaries; the ſource of ſedition was quelled by an inſtant order for the execution of his brothers; one only, Calapin, eſcaped to Rome, was baptiſed under the name of Calliſtus Othomannus, and ended an obſcure, but peaceable life, on an eſtate in Auſtria, which had been preſented him by Frederic the Third.

The perſon and character of the conqueror of Conſtantinople attracts, and even commands our attention, Mahomet the Second was early educated in, and zealouſly profeſſed, the obſervance of the koran; age and empire might inſenſibly relax his rigid obedience to laws of the prophet; but ſo ſcrupulouſly were they fulfilled at firſt by the ſon of Amurath, that as often as he converſed with an infidel, he purified his hands

and

and face by the legal rites of ablution. Under the tuition of the moſt ſkilful maſters, he was diſtinguiſhed by his rapid progreſs in the paths of knowledge; and to his native tongue were added the acquiſition of the Arabic, the Perſian, the Chaldean, the Latin, and the Greek languages. Hiſtory and geography, aſtrology and mathematics, confeſſed the variety of his literary purſuits; and his taſte for the arts was diſplayed by his liberal invitation, and reward, of the painters of Italy. His ſobriety is atteſted by the ſilence of the Turkiſh annals, which accuſe, of the Ottoman line, only Soliman the Firſt, Selim the Second, and Amurath the Fourth, of the vice of drunkenneſs; but his thirſt of dominion and of conqueſt was unbounded; his cruelty, after victory, was often inſatiate; and his unnatural luſt too frequently diſhonoured the nobleſt of the captive youth; with an extenſive territory, an immenſe revenue, and an innumerable and well-diſciplined army, his victorious career was checked by Huniades and Scanderbeg, by the Rhodian knights and the Perſian king.

The ambaſſadors of Europe and Aſia ſoon appeared to congratulate the acceſſion, and ſolicit the friendſhip of Mahomet the Second; his language was that of peace and moderation. He ratified with fair aſſurances and ſolemn oaths the treaty with the Greeks, and aſſigned an annual penſion of three hundred thouſand aſpers for the maintenance of an Ottoman prince who was detained at his deſire at the Byzantine court; but he retrenched with ſeverity the pomp of his father's houſehold; and the income, which had been formerly

formerly diverted to the luxury of a court, was rigidly applied to the maintenance of the army. He visited in person, and accompanied by a formidable force, the Asiatic provinces; and, after humbling the pride, accepted the submission of the sultan of Caramania.

But the attention of Mahomet was incessantly fixed upon Constantinople; he pronounced that no promises ought to bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion; the imprudence of the Byzantine ambassadors afforded him too fair a pretence; instead of endeavouring to escape his observation, they obtruded themselves on his notice with clamorous demands for the payment, and even the increase of their annual stipend; their indiscretion was reproved by the vizir, a secret friend to the Christians. "Ye foolish "and miserable Romans," said Calil, "we know your "devices, and ye are ignorant of your own danger! "the scrupulous Amurath is no more; his throne is "occupied by a young conqueror whom no laws can "bind, and no obstacles can resist; and if you escape "from his hands, give praise to the divine clemency, "which yet delays the chastisement of your sins. "Why do you seek to affright us by vain and indirect "menaces? Release the fugitive Orchan, crown him "sultan of Romania; call the Hungarians from be"yond the Danube; arm against us the nations of "the West; and be assured that you will only pro"voke and precipitate your own downfall;" but the stern language of the vizir was effaced by the courteous speeches of Mahomet. He promised on his return to Hadrianople to redress the grievances of the Greeks; but

but he had ſcarce paſſed the Helleſpont, before he iſſued an order to ſtop their penſion, and reſolved to erect a ſtrong caſtle on the ſide of the Boſphorus, facing a fortification on the Aſiatic ſhore, which had been raiſed by his grandfather. On a ſpot called Aſomaton, only five miles diſtant from the Greek capital, a thouſand maſons were directed to aſſemble in the enſuing ſpring. In vain did the ambaſſadors of the emperor repreſent that this double fortification was a violation of the treaty; that it would command the ſtreight, interrupt the trade of the nations of the Weſt, and intercept, at diſcretion, the ſubſiſtence of Conſtantinople. "I form no enterpriſe," replied the perfidious ſultan, "againſt the city; but the empire "of Conſtantinople is meaſured by her walls. Have "you forgot the diſtreſs to which my father was re- "duced, when you formed a league with the Hun- "garians; when they invaded our country by land, "and the Helleſpont was occupied by the French "gallies? Amurath was compelled to force the "paſſage of the Boſphorus; and your ſtrength was "not equal to your malevolence. I was then a child "at Hadrianople; the Moſlems trembled; and for "awhile the Infidels inſulted our diſgrace. But when "my father had triumphed in the field of Warna, he "vowed to erect a fort on the weſtern ſhore, and that "vow it is my duty to accompliſh. Have ye the "right, have ye the power, to control my actions on "my own ground? for that ground *is* my own: as "far as the ſhores of the Boſphorus, Aſia is inhabited "by the Turks, and Europe is deſerted by the Ro-

"mans.

" mans. Return, and inform your king, that the " preſent Ottoman is far different from his predeceſ- " ſors; that *his* reſolutions ſurpaſs *their* wiſhes; and " that *he* performs more than *they* could reſolve. " Return in ſafety—but the next who delivers a " ſimilar meſſage may expect to be flayed alive." Conſtantine, after this declaration, would have unſheathed the ſword; but he was diſſuaded by his miniſters, who adviſed him by patience to brand the Ottoman with the guilt of an aggreſſor, and to depend upon chance and time for the ſafety of the city, and for the deſtruction of the hoſtile fort.

On the twenty-fifth of March the appointed ſpot of of Aſomaton was crouded with Turkiſh artificers; the fortreſs was built in a triangular form; each angle was flanked by a ſtrong and maſſy tower; one on the declivity of the hill, two along the ſea-ſhore. [A. D. 1452.] A thickneſs of twenty-two feet was aſſigned for the walls, thirty for the towers; and the whole building was covered with a ſolid platform of lead. The Greek emperor had ſolicited a Turkiſh guard to protect the fields of his ſubjects; but the orders that guard received, was to turn the horſes and mules of the camp into the paſtures of the Romans, and to defend their brethren, if moleſted by the Infidels. Such inſtructions could not fail to embroil the two nations; and ſeveral, on both ſides, were ſlain in a tumultuous conflict. Mahomet received with joy the complaints of his ſubjects; a numerous detachment was ſent to avenge their pretended injuries; the gates of Conſtantinople were ſhut, and all further intercourſe precluded.

cluded. The emperor was yet desirous of averting the menaced destruction; he released the Turkish captives, and expressed in a last letter the resignation of a Christian, and the fortitude of a soldier. "Since neither "oaths, nor treaty, nor submission, can secure peace, "pursue," said he to Mahomet, "your impious war- "fare. My trust is in God alone; if it should please "him to mollify your heart, I shall rejoice in the "happy change: if he delivers the city into your "hands, I submit without a murmur to his holy will; "but until the judge of the earth shall pronounce be- "tween us, it is my duty to live and die in the defence "of my people." The sultan's answer was hostile, and decisive; his fortifications were completed; and he demanded a tribute from the ships of every nation which passed within reach of his cannon. A Venetian vessel first presumed to refuse; she was sunk by a single ball; the master and crew deferred their fate by entering their boats; but they were dragged in chains to the *Porte*, and on refusing to profess the faith of Mahomet, their chief was impaled alive, and his companions beheaded.

While the son of Amurath consumed his weary hours at Hadrianople, his eyes and thoughts were continually directed towards the capital of the Greeks. The friendship of Calil, the grand vizir, for the Christians, had branded him with the name of Gabour Ortachi, or foster-brother to the Infidels; and his avarice had engaged him in a treasonable correspondence, which, after the conclusion of the war, was detected and punished. In the middle of the night he

was

was ſummoned to attend his royal maſter; he filled a cup full of gold, haſtened to the palace, and preſented, according to the cuſtom of the Eaſt, his offering of gratitude. "It is not my will," ſaid Mahomet, "to "reſume my gifts, but rather to heap and multiply "them on thy head. In my turn I aſk a preſent far "more valuable and important;—Conſtantinople." As ſoon as the vizir had recovered from his ſurpriſe, "the ſame God," ſaid he, "who has already given "thee ſo large a portion of the Roman empire, will "not deny the remnant, and the capital. His provi- "dence, and thy power, aſſure thy ſucceſs; and my- "ſelf, with the reſt of thy faithful ſlaves, will ſacrifice "our lives and fortunes." "Lala," (or preceptor) continued the ſultan, "do you ſee this pillow? all the "night, in my agitation, I have pulled it on one ſide "and the other; I have riſen from my bed, again "have I laid down; yet ſleep has not viſited my "weary eyes. Beware of the gold and ſilver of the "Romans; in arms we are ſuperior; and with the "aid of God, and the prayers of the prophet, we ſhall "ſpeedily become maſters of Conſtantinople." With a ſimilar ardour he preſſed a founder of cannon, a Dane, or Hungarian, who, almoſt ſtarved in the Greek ſervice, had deſerted to the Moſlems. "Am I able to "caſt a cannon capable of throwing a ball, or ſtone, "of ſufficient ſize, to batter the walls of Conſtantino- "ple?" "I am not ignorant," anſwered the renegado, "of their ſtrength; but were they more ſolid "than thoſe of Babylon, I could oppoſe an engine of "ſuperior power: the poſition and management of

"that engine must be left to your engineers." From a foundery at Hadrianople, Urban produced a piece of brass ordnance, the bore of which measured twelve palms, and the stone ball weighed above six hundred pounds. On the first experiment, a proclamation was issued to admonish the people against the effects of astonishment and fear. The explosion was felt in a circuit of an hundred furlongs; the ball was driven above a mile, and on the spot where it fell, buried itself above a fathom deep in the ground.

While the sultan was assiduously employed in hostile preparations, the emperor importuned the princes of the West with fruitless solicitations. The Roman pontiff was hardened against the Greeks by their obstinacy and falsehood, and if in their last exigency he yielded to the dictates of compassion, his support was tardy and ineffectual; and Constantinople was taken before the fleets of Venice and Genoa had sailed from their respective harbours. The princes of the Greek islands and the Morea affected to preserve an impolitic neutrality, and the Genoese of Galata were deceived by the sultan with the hope, that their colony might survive the fall of the empire. A crowd of timid plebeians fled the devoted city, and the fears of the vulgar were sanctioned by the example of the noble; that wealth which might have defended the freedom and religion of Constantinople, was cautiously secreted by its owners; and the inconsiderate avarice of the Greeks denied to the entreaties of their prince, the treasures they were soon compelled to yield to the menaces of their enemies: yet Constantine, indigent and deserted,

shrunk

ſhrunk not from the approaching peril; and if his ſtrength was inadequate to the conteſt, his mind, at leaſt, was equal to the danger.

Early in the ſpring, the towns and villages which yet acknowledged the juriſdiction of the Greeks, were overwhelmed by a torrent of Turks. The inhabitants of Selybria alone had fortitude enough to hazard a reſiſtance, and while they were preſſed by land, they boldly launched their boats, pillaged the oppoſite ſhore of Cyzicus, and ſold their captives in the public market; [A. D. 1453.] but they yielded on the approach of Mahomet; and the Turkiſh ſultan pitched his ſtandard before the gate of St. Romanus, and, on the ſixth of April, inveſted Conſtantinople with two hundred and fifty-eight thouſand men.

The motley crew of mechanics and prieſts, of women, and of men inferior to women in courage, which ſtill inhabited Conſtantinople, might amount to one hundred thouſand; but on a diligent ſurvey only four thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy citizens were to be found able and willing to bear arms, and worthy of the name of *Romans*. Theſe were reinforced by two thouſand ſtrangers, under the command of John Juſtiniani, a noble Genoeſe, whoſe hopes of victory were animated by the promiſed recompenſe of the iſle of Lemnos. A ſtrong chain was drawn acroſs the mouth of the harbour. The Chriſtian ſhips, which ſucceſſively arrived, were detained for the public ſervice; and a city, which extended thirteen or ſixteen miles, was defended by ſeven or eight thouſand ſoldiers, againſt the united power of the Ottoman empire.

The diſtreſs of Conſtantine revived the idea of an union with the Latins, which had been renounced before the death of his brother John Palæologus. His ambaſſadors were inſtructed to declare that temporal aid would be followed by ſpiritual obedience. Six months before the final capture of Conſtantinople, cardinal Iſidore was diſpatched by pope Nicolas the Fifth with a retinue of prieſts and ſoldiers; in the church of St. Sophia, the two nations joined in the communion of ſacrifice and prayer; [A. D. 1454. Dec.] but the Greeks beheld with horror this religious union; the church which had been polluted by the miniſtry of a Latin prieſt was inſtantly deſerted; the frantic people abjured all communion with the preſent or future aſſociates of the Latins, and Lucas Notaras, the great duke, was heard to declare that he had rather behold in Conſtantinople the turban of Mahomet, than the pope's tiara, or a cardinal's hat.

In the beginning of the ſiege, the Greeks had boldly ſallied from the walls, but prudence ſoon ſuggeſted to them to huſband their ſcanty forces. Yet the volunteers, inſpired by their heroic emperor, diſplayed the virtue and courage of ancient Romans, and the auxiliaries maintained that martial reputation which had been acquired by the warriors of the Weſt. The Turkiſh artillery was ſuperior to that of the Chriſtians; their ſtock of gunpowder daily diminiſhed, and they feared to plant on the walls their heavy cannon, leſt the aged ſtructure ſhould be overthrown by the exploſion. The Moſlems had already puſhed their approaches to the ditch; but their attempts during day

to fill the enormous chaſm, were fruſtrated by the nightly toil of the Chriſtians; the ſkill of the miners was baffled by the rocky ſoil; but a wooden turret was ſucceſsfully advanced towards the walls. It was protected by a three-fold covering of bull's hides; inceſſant vollies were ſecurely fired from the loopholes; and the height of it enabled the beſiegers to combat hand to hand with the beſieged on the rampart. The tower of St. Romanus was overthrown; and though the Turks were repulſed at night, yet they hoped in the morning to renew the combat with deciſive advantage; but at dawn of day the ſultan beheld with aſtoniſhment the perſevering valour and labours of the beſieged; each moment of darkneſs had been improved with activity by the emperor and Juſtiniani; and by the return of light, the wooden turret was reduced to aſhes, the ditch cleared and reſtored, and the tower of St. Romanus again ſtrong and entire.

On the firſt apprehenſion of a ſiege, Conſtantine had negociated, in the iſles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the moſt indiſpenſible ſupplies; five ſhips, one of which bore the imperial flag, and the four others that of Genoa, ſailed from the harbour of Chios for the ſervice of the capital. They paſſed with a ſtrong and favourable gale through the Helleſpont and the Propontis; but the city was already inveſted by ſea and land, and the Turkiſh fleet, in the form of a creſcent, ſtretched from ſhore to ſhore, at the entrance of the Boſphorus. The five Chriſtian ſhips continued their courſe with cheerful ſhouts, againſt a hoſtile force of three hundred veſſels; the

rampart,

rampart, the camp, the coaſts of Europe and Aſia, were crouded with innumerable ſpectators, who anxiouſly awaited the event of this momentous ſuccour. But the fleet of the Moſlems, except eighteen gallies of ſome force, conſiſted of open boats, their ſailors were aukward, and the Janizaries trembled on an element to which they had never been accuſtomed. The Chriſtian ſquadron was manned by the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practiſed in the arts and perils of the ſea; their weight ſcattered the obſtacles that impeded their paſſage; their artillery ſwept the waters; and their liquid fire was poured on the heads of their adverſaries. In two different attacks the Turks were repulſed with loſs; the voice and preſence of Mahomet on the beach urged them to a third attempt; the paſſions of his ſoul, the geſtures of his body, ſeemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and with a fearleſs and impotent effort the haughty Muſſulman ſpurred his horſe into the ſea; but he was compelled to behold the reiterated defeats of his ſubjects; the fleet of the Moſlems fled in diſorder to the ſhores of Aſia and Europe, while the Chriſtian ſquadron ſteered triumphant along the Boſphorus, and ſecurely anchored within the chain of the harbour.

As long as the ſea was open to the Greeks, the reduction of the city appeared to be hopeleſs. The genius of Mahomet conceived the bold deſign of tranſporting his lighter veſſels by land about ten miles, from the Boſphorus to the higher part of the harbour. The Genoeſe of Galata, who might have impeded the paſſage, ſtill flattered themſelves with the idea of averting their deſtruction by ſubmiſſion. A level way was

covered by ſtrong and ſolid planks, and theſe were rendered more ſlippery by the fat of ſheep and oxen. Fourſcore light gallies and brigantines were ſucceſſively arranged upon rollers, and drawn forward by the power of men and pullies: in one night they accompliſhed this novel voyage, and were launched from the declivity into the ſhallow waters of the harbour, far above the moleſtation of the deeper veſſels of the Greeks. As ſoon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour, he conſtructed, in the narroweſt part, a mole of fifty cubits in breadth, and one hundred in length, and mounted on it one of his largeſt cannon; in an attempt to deſtroy the unfiniſhed works, the foremoſt galliots of the Greeks were ſunk or taken; forty gallant Chriſtian youths were inhumanly maſſacred by the command of the ſultan, and Conſtantine could only avenge their fate by expoſing from the walls the heads of two hundred and ſixty Muſſulmen.

A ſiege of forty days proclaimed the approaching ruin of Conſtantinople; the breaches were increaſed, the garriſon was diminiſhed, and the remnant of Chriſtian ſtrength was impaired by diſcord. The Genoeſe and Venetian auxiliaries aſſerted the pre-eminence of their reſpective ſervice; and Juſtiniani and Lucas Notaras mutually accuſed each other of cowardice and treachery. The twenty-ninth of May was fixed by the ſultan, and was ſanctioned by his favourite ſcience of aſtrology, for the fatal and final aſſault. The derviſhes proclaimed to thoſe who ſhould fall in the holy enterpriſe immortal youth amidſt the rivers and gardens of paradiſe, and in the embraces of the

black-eyed virgins. The ſultan promiſed the temporal incentive of double pay. "The city and the build-"ings," ſaid Mahomet, "are mine: but I reſign to "your valour the captives and the ſpoil, the treaſures "of gold and beauty: be rich and be happy. Many "are the provinces of my empire; the intrepid ſol-"dier who firſt aſcends the walls of Conſtantinople, "ſhall be rewarded with the government of the faireſt "and moſt wealthy; and my gratitude ſhall accumu-"late his honours and his fortunes above the meaſure "of his own hopes." Such potent motives diffuſed among the Turks a general ardour, and the camp reſounded with the ſhouts of "God is God! there is "but one God, and Mahomet is the apoſtle of God!"

The minds of the Chriſtians were agitated with far different paſſions; deſpair and fear by turns occupied their boſoms; the nobleſt of the youths were ſummoned by Palæologus to the imperial palace, and he vainly attempted to infuſe into their minds the hope to which he himſelf was a ſtranger. Yet this band of warriors was animated by the example of their prince; with a few faithful companions, the emperor entered the dome of St. Sophia, and devoutly received the ſacrament of the holy communion; he ſolicited the pardon of thoſe whom he might have injured; and after a few moments repoſe in the palace, he mounted his horſe to viſit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy.

The foremoſt ranks of the Moſlems conſiſted of a various crowd, without order or diſcipline, but inflamed with the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm; the Greeks were fatigued with the inceſſant ſlaughter, and the ditch

was

was filled with the innumerable bodies of the aſſailants. To theſe ſucceeded the more regular troops of Anatolia and Romania, led on by their reſpective baſhaws; but the Chriſtians ſtill maintained their ſuperiority; and the voice of the emperor was heard exhorting his companions and ſubjects by a laſt effort to atchieve the deliverance of their country; but in the moment of laſſitude, the Janizaries roſe freſh and vigorous, and poured the fury of their arms on their faint and feeble opponents. The tide of battle was impelled by the ſultan himſelf, who on horſeback, with an iron mace in his hand, reproved the tardy, and applauded the ardent. A bullet or arrow had pierced the gauntlet of John Juſtiniani, and the wounded chief withdrew from his ſtation. His retreat was perceived by the emperor: "Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, "is ſlight; the danger is preſſing; your preſence is "neceſſary; and whither will you retire!" "I will "retire," ſaid the trembling Genoeſe, "by the ſame "road which God has opened to the Turks." At theſe words he paſſed through a breach of the inner walls, and ſacrificed his honour to preſerve at Galata a few hours of life, embittered by his own reflections, and the reproach of the public.

His example was imitated by the greateſt part of the Latin auxiliaries; and the defence became every moment more ſlack, and the aſſault more vigorous. Haſſan, the janizary, was the firſt who mounted the walls, and deſerved the reward of the ſultan. A crowd of Turks impetuouſly ſucceeded; and the Greeks driven from the rampart were overwhelmed by increaſing multitudes. The remnant of the nobles

ſtill fought round the perſon of the emperor; his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be "found a Chriſtian to cut off my head!" His laſt fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the Infidels. He had before prudently caſt away the purple; in the confuſion of the attack, he fell by an unknown hand; his body was buried under a monument of ſlain, and was diſcovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his ſhoes. With his life reſiſtance expired; the Turks poured in on every ſide; the walls which had defied the Goths, which had reſiſted the united force of the Avars and the Perſians, now yielded to the ſuperior enthuſiaſm of the Moſlems; and the race of Othman, the diſciples of Mahomet, eſtabliſhed their government and their religion in the palace and the churches which had been founded by Conſtantine.

BY the capture of Conſtantinople, and the death of the laſt of the Cæſars, the Roman empire might be conſidered as extinguiſhed. The deſpots of the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas the two ſurviving brothers of Palæologus, deſcended from their tottering thrones, reſigned their ſceptres to the Turkiſh conqueror, and ſubmitted to acknowledge his clemency, and ſlumber through life in a ſtate of ſervile dependence. The lofty genius of Mahomet aſpired to the conqueſt of Italy; but his dreams of dominion were diſſipated by the ſummons of death, and ancient Rome was probably preſerved, by his ſeaſonable fate, from the menaced yoke of the Moſlem victors.

Pope Sixtus had already prepared to abandon the venerable

venerable city; he was ſaved from a diſgraceful flight beyond the Alps by the welcome intelligence that Mahomet the Second was no more. The authority of the Roman pontiffs was ſoon confirmed by habit and opinion; but the ſeat of their government had equally ſuffered from the hoſtile enterpriſes of the chriſtians and barbarians, and time and nature had mutually conſpired againſt the ancient miſtreſs of the Roman world. In the fourteenth century her temples were proſtrate, her columns broken, her ſtatues overthrown; the lofty capitol, the ſeat of heroes and of demi-gods, was overgrown by vines and brambles; and the Forum, where the Roman people enacted their laws and elected their magiſtrates, was allotted to the purpoſes of vegetation, or portioned into ſties, and polluted by the moſt filthy of the animal creation. In the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries the revenues and attention of Julius the Second, Leo the Tenth, and Sixtus the Fifth, were directed to revive and emulate the labours of antiquity: The fallen columns were once more erected; three of the eleven aqueducts were carefully explored and repaired, and new temples and palaces were decorated by the pencil of Raphael and the chiſſel of Michael Angelo. Even after the lapſe of ſo many revolving centuries, Rome ſtill attracts the preſence and commands the admiration of the learned and curious traveller; he views with rapture the glowing figures of the ſculptor and the painter, he gazes with aſtoniſhment on the ſtupendous works of ancient magnificence, and traces with devout veneration the footſteps of heroes and of conſuls.

FINIS.

Strahan and Preſton,
Printers-Street, London.

IDI
HW 27QC P